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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

The Siege of Dura

Clark Hopkins

The Tale of Troy

Elizabeth Hazelton Haight

"Treasure Trove" in Britain

T. C. Lethbridge

Presumption Rebuked (Note)	Charles S. Rayment	259
<i>Liber Animalium</i> —The King of Beasts	Anon.	270
Dumnorix and Gallic Rivers	Classroom	270
The Lost Ending of Plautus' <i>Aulularia</i>	Edwin L. Minar, Jr.	271
The "Escape" Ode in <i>Hippolytus</i> 732-775 (Note)	H. F. Graham	275
Bede and the British Pearl	Wendell Clausen	277
"The Childhood Shows the Man" (Note)	Nathan Dane, II	281
General Education and Classical Languages	Mark E. Hutchinson	287
The Final Examination (<i>Lanx Saturae</i>)	Editorial	295
Dissecting the Classics (<i>Lanx Saturae</i>)	Editorial	297
Cornell College Conference	Current Events	298
Blood, Sweat and Tears (Note)	Richard Henry Crum	299
Report on Latin Week, 1946	Classroom	301
Ramsay, <i>Flos Malvae</i> (Review)	Roger Pack	305
Nash, <i>Roman Towns</i> (Review)	Walter Miller	306
Marx-Morwitz, <i>Alcman, Sappho, and Ibycus</i> (Review)	Herbert N. Couch	307
More Crazy Couplets (Classroom)	Farrand Baker	312

Program

Forty-Third Annual Meeting, Classical Association of the Middle West
and South, Nashville, April 3, 4, 5, 1947—Page 309

**A MAGAZINE INTERPRETING TO THE THOUGHTFUL TEACHER AND THE PUBLIC THE
SIGNIFICANCE OF ANCIENT CLASSICAL CIVILIZATION IN ITS RELATION
TO MODERN LIFE**

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FALLS OF THE LIRIS, NEAR ARPINUM

ARPINUM was a small municipium, originally belonging to the Volscians, about 60 miles southeast of Rome. In 188 B.C. its inhabitants were given the *jus suffragii*, the right of voting in the Roman comitia. The town's chief distinction lies in the fact that it was the birthplace of Marius and Cicero. The lower valley of the Liris (Gar) was the scene of much hard fighting



THE THEATER OF TUSCULUM, NEAR WHICH CICERO HAD A VILLA

TUSCULUM was an ancient Latin town in the Alban Hills, near the modern Frascati, about 10 miles south of Rome. There was a legend that it had been founded by Telegonus, son of Ulysses. Cato the Censor was a native of Tusculum, and Cicero's favorite villa—"Tusculanum"—was in the neighborhood.

CICERO'S COUNTRY

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Volume 42 Number 5
FEBRUARY 1947

Unique in the Annals of War
A Story Unearthed by the Spade



The Siege of Dura

Clark Hopkins

ON THE MIDDLE Euphrates, high above the muddy river, stand massive grey walls and ponderous bastions, ruins of an ancient fort. Here, astride the royal highway from Antioch to Seleucia, dual capitals of the Seleucid empire, the Macedonians long ago placed a stronghold to guard the desert ways, and named it for Seleucus' birthplace, Europos. The Beduin, indifferent to Balkan sentiment, called it simply *Dūr* 'the Fort'; reborn on the archaeologist's spade, in modern records it appears as *Dura-Europos*.

Commanding the caravan trails, all but impregnable behind its stout defenses, Dura was a prize to be fought over. Macedonian, then Parthian, then Roman, it was a keystone in the arc of Rome's Syrian frontier when, in A.D. 256, one more enemy, banners streaming, appeared

before the ramparts. Heralds were detached from the main body to ride to the gates and call upon the defenders to surrender. Greeted with jeers and insults, the invaders placed the city under siege. The issue was a disaster unique in the annals of war.

THE MACEDONIAN ENGINEERS WHO, in the third century B.C., were detailed to build the fortress which was to be Dura-Europos, selected a spot where the Syrian plateau breaks off in a cliff dropping to the Euphrates, a site well suited by nature for defense. The cliff is broken at two points by deep gullies running back into the desert, the wadis of the field reports. The cliff and the gullies, their crests crowned by a crenellated wall of cut and fitted native stone, formed invulnerable defenses on east, north and south, as you can see from FIGURE 1, which shows the entire perimeter of the walled town.

On the west there was no natural protection; on this side the wall was therefore made much stronger, thirty feet high and fifteen feet thick, studded with towers at close intervals. Midway of this wall, visible at the extreme left of FIGURE 1, was the Palmyra Gate, its passage barred by three sets of doors and flanked on each side by a great double tower. Here the caravans bound east from the desert metropolis of Palmyra were halted to pay port dues and make obeisance to the tutelary gods of Dura; this accomplished, they were

(Clark Hopkins, a son of Edward Washburn Hopkins, Professor of Sanscrit and Comparative Philology at Yale University, was born in New York on September 16, 1895. He is a graduate of Yale (A.B., 1917), Oxford (Rhodes Scholar, 1919-1921; A.B., 1921 and A.M., 1926) and the University of Wisconsin (Ph.D., 1924). He has taught at Rice Institute, Yale and the University of Michigan. He studied at Athens in 1927-1928, and in 1928-1929 was Assistant Director of Yale's excavations at Dura-Europos; from 1931 to 1935 he was Field Director of the Dura excavations. A reserve officer of the U. S. Army, he served in World War I as a 2nd Lieutenant, Infantry, and in World War II as a Major in the Sixth Service Command's Training Division. He is now Professor of Classical Art and Archaeology at the University of Michigan.)



FIGURE 1. AIR VIEW OF DURA FROM THE SOUTH, DECEMBER 1932.

(*Dura Report v, Frontispiece*)

allowed to pass through to the bazaar and its varied fascinations.

Dura had been Seleucid from its founding until about 100 B.C., then a western outpost of the empire of the Parthians. In 165 A.D. the Romans made it a bastion of their eastern frontier; but whether their overlords were Greek, Persian or Roman can have mattered little to the mixed-breed Durans, who tended sheep, farmed their small plots along the river, and traded dispassionately with all passers-by.

For nearly a hundred years Rome's right to rule the middle Euphrates was not seriously challenged, but a note of danger was sounded in A.D. 227, when the new dynasty of the Sassanians overthrew the vacillating Parthians and established a strong and energetic central power in Persia. To repel their raids in A.D. 231-233 required the personal efforts of Alexander Severus; and Gordian III, wounded in his victory over the Persians at Resaena in A.D. 243, died and was buried, we are told, somewhere near Dura.

In spite of frontier disorders, the commercial capitals of Syria, Damascus, Nisibis, Carrhae, Edessa, Palmyra and many more, had grown tremendously during the second and early third centuries, and Dura prospered with them. The Roman governor, the Dux Ripae, as an inscription calls him, had a palace next the camp of his troops, near the cliff, and built baths and a miniature amphitheater for their comfort and pleasure. By A.D. 220 there were enough Christians in Dura to build a chapel for their intimate worship; and in A.D. 246 Jews built a synagogue in the shadow of the western wall, and frescoed it with scenes from the Old Testament.

They were not to enjoy them long. Soon after 246 the Roman garrison found it expedient to reinforce the mighty walls. Along their whole extent they piled an earth embankment, fifty feet wide at the base and as high as the walls, and faced it with mud brick to control erosion. Buildings near the walls,

private houses, the Christian chapel and the synagogue were engulfed, and with them the pagan temples to Aphlad, the Gods of Palmyra, Azzanathkona, and Mithra. Some new method of siege had shaken the Romans' reliance on walls of mere stone.

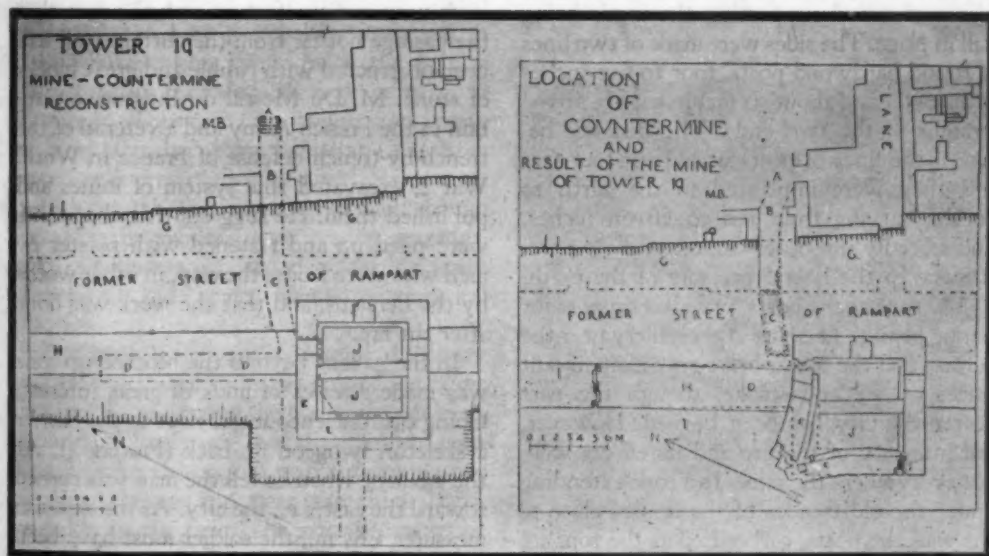
In A.D. 256 the Sassanian troops of Sapor advanced victoriously along the Euphrates and appeared before Dura. We have no record of the events which preceded the formal investment, but we can picture for ourselves the flurry of orders, the hurried notching of extra arrows, the forging of new lance-heads, the pledges to the gods, the strict instructions to the sentries, the checking of supplies. . . . Perhaps Sapor tested the Romans' temper with a frontal attack upon the great Palmyra Gate; if so, he was thrown back. Perhaps he sent scouts to scale the cliffs at night, in hopes of finding the guards drowsy; if so, they too were disappointed.

Sapor called for his engineers. A little north of the Palmyra Gate, opposite Tower 19 on the official plan of the excavations and starting at some distance out in the plain, sappers began a mine, a tunnel aimed at the lowest

foundations of this tower. The entrance to this mine has not yet been found. Perhaps they used one of the many chamber tombs in Dura's cemetery for the purpose; in any case, the visitor can see, opposite the tower and forty meters out in the plain, a great heap of earth and gravel which, it seems reasonable to suppose, was debris from the mine.

The mine was driven without serious hindrance as far as the outer wall of the tower. The garrison must have known what was going on; the activity, and the growing mound of fresh subsoil, could not have been dissembled; but at first they took no action, as if uncertain what action to take. The Sassanian sappers completed, beneath the foundations of the west wall of the tower, a chamber of considerable size. Shoring up the roof as they went along, they extended it beneath the north wall of the tower as far as the curtain wall, and then dug a lateral branch, fifty feet long, under the curtain wall itself.

FIGURE 2A shows the situation: Tower 19 (J, J), the curtain wall (H), the glacis or embankment of dirt and mud brick inside and outside the wall and towers, the mine ap-



A
FIGURE 2. TOWER 19: PLAN OF MINES AND COUNTERMINE.

(Dura Report vi, Figure 14)

proaching the tower from the southwest, the chamber under the west and north sides of the tower (E, E), and the long lateral branch under the curtain (D, D). Suppose now that the Sassanians, as they proceed with this work, have propped the massive foundations above their heads with heavy timbers, so that the outer face of the tower and the adjacent curtain are supported not on bedrock but on wooden shoring; suppose further that when all is ready a pile of faggots, straw and pitch is lighted among the timbers, so that the whole mine becomes an inferno in which the supports are consumed. You may properly expect that the tower and a long section of the wall will collapse, disconcerting the defenders and making a breach in the wall into which the attackers may rush to overwhelm the town. This was clearly the Sassanians' intention, but something happened to prevent its full accomplishment.

The group of galleries, whose purpose was clearly to cause the collapse of the walls, connects with another intended to join the mines under the walls with the interior of the city. Near the northeast angle of Tower 19, the gallery was perfectly preserved, even the pieces of wood supporting the earth being still in place. The sides were made of two lines of round hardwood posts, four to five inches in diameter and about six feet in length, sawed straight at the two ends. The distance between the lines of posts was about four feet and they were implanted in the earth to depths varying from ten to fifteen inches, undoubtedly in order to offer greater resistance to the lateral pressure of the earth.

The tops of the posts served as support for strong planks. The part of the gallery near the curtain and the tower bears only insignificant traces of fire and smoke, though the part nearer the city has been burned. However, the intensity of the fire and its effects were not everywhere the same. In a zone extending under the old facades of the houses close to the wall the posts, carbonized at the top, are still in place (FIGURE 3) and, although the ceiling planks appear to have been burned, the gallery made in well-packed earth, in the space between wall and houses, has not been obstructed by fallen debris. In addition to



FIGURE 3. TOWER 19: TUNNEL SUPPORTS *in situ*.

(*Dura Report* vi, Plate 18, 2)

large pieces of burned wood from the ceiling, fragments of faggots and straw which had been used to start the fire were easily recognized. At the very end the gallery has fallen in but contains no traces of fire.

A very curious feature was the fact that the passage not far from the curtain wall had been obstructed with rubble and great blocks of stone. M. Du Mesnil du Buisson, a Captain in the French Army and a veteran of the trench-by-trench defense of France in World War I, excavated this system of mines and published them. He suggests that the stones were piled up and fastened with plaster by men who were facing the city, in other words by the Persians, and that the work was done after the fire.

In the gallery beyond the blocked-up zone was made a series of finds of great interest. Going east one encounters next to the barrier a skeleton lying on its back (FIGURE 4). At the moment when he fell the man was turned toward the east, i.e., the city. As the skeleton measures 1.85 m., the soldier must have been well over six feet in height. The chest was enveloped in a well-preserved coat of mail, in the form of a shirt which was slipped on over the head. The legs were burned but M. Du Mesnil believes that he fell in fight rather

than by suffocation or burns.

Not far away in the trench was a large ovoid helmet, its two pieces joined together by bands of iron. From the lower edge hung a piece of mail similar to those used on Persian helmets of the middle ages. Close by was a large sword which at the time of discovery was represented only by a few fragments of badly oxidized iron and a jade pommel. Scattered fragments of iron appear to be parts of the mounting and boss of a shield. Two bronze fibulae and a number of coins appear also to have belonged to this warrior.

Further east, close to the city end of the gallery, the bodies of sixteen or eighteen soldiers were found with the remains of their armor and clothing. In the part nearest the wall, the bodies were calcined in the fire; toward the middle the bones had remained white and in good condition so that it was possible to recognize bodies intertwined. In the part nearest the city, the skeletons lay in contracted positions as if the men had tried to save themselves from a cave-in or had been crushed in positions of defense. One appears to have been seated, his spinal column being markedly curved. Another lay, thrown back, with his legs spread wide apart and folded under him as if he had made an attempt to rise. Metal objects found with the bodies, though badly corroded, seem to be parts of swords, perhaps also of a javelin, and bosses of shields rather than helmets. One large sword was preserved intact with its pommel of rock crystal. The iron coats of mail, though found in fragments, were readily recognizable. Fragments of wooden shields were recovered, and some pierced ornamental plaques.

The most important collateral discovery was that of the coins found grouped at three different points among the bodies. In one case, it could be clearly seen, that the coins had been placed under the coat of mail enveloping one of the skeletons and near the thigh bone, probably in the belt. The same seems to be true in two other cases. The coins were Roman and dated up to A.D. 256. M. Du Mesnil, who as excavator of the mine is the person most cognizant of the evidence and best able to interpret the results, believes that

the bodies were those of Romans and supports this hypothesis with the Roman coins. According to his reconstruction, the Romans, detecting the construction of the mine, built a counter mine from the edge of the embankment within the city toward the tower and met the mine of the Persians.

Battle in the Dark

AT THE MEETING of the two mines, there was an underground battle between Persians and Romans. The latter were overcome and crowded back into the counter mine followed by the Persians. At that moment the defenders of the city, seeing that the Roman auxiliaries were retreating in disorder, and fearing that the Persians would emerge into the city, hastily blocked up the entrance of the counter mine, shutting up inside those who were wounded or lagging behind. At the same time the Persians, who were undoubtedly too few in number to enter the city, set fire to the counter mine and rapidly withdrew. They then blocked up the counter mine by a wall of rubble and plaster, completed their operations under the tower, successfully fired the shoring and stood by to await the collapse of the tower.



FIGURE 4. TOWER 19: ARMORED SKELETON OF PERSIAN WARRIOR, AS FOUND IN MINE. (*Dura Report VI, Plate 18, 3*)

This account of Du Mesnil satisfactorily explains the Roman coins, and the blocking of the countermines, but it still leaves a number of things in doubt. It seems hard to believe that the Romans groping in a countermine for the sappers of the Persians should meet the gallery of the Persians so exactly that mine and countermine become a perfectly straight tunnel. Furthermore, it is hard not to associate the firing of the mine beyond the block with the firing of the tower gallery. Finally, if the Persians had time to wall off part of the mine before completing their work under the tower, it seems strange that the Romans did not at least uncover the mine entrance to give decent burial to those they knew were within. One would expect that they would have reopened the entrance as soon as it was safe, to see if some of the wounded might not still survive.

The evidence is by no means clear, but I am inclined to favor another interpretation. The fact that the Persian mine turned into the city, as well as followed the walls of tower and curtain, may have meant that, as elsewhere, they were intending to introduce a band of soldiers secretly into the city. If a band were introduced, it would have to be at the moment of the collapse of the tower, or they would easily be overpowered by the defenders. To accomplish this the mine would have to be pushed forward to the very edge of the embankment and the chosen band of soldiers would necessarily be stationed in position before the firing of the tower, a firing which would block any retreat or hope of reinforcements. Even so, smoke from the fire might suffocate them, or the fire might spread and collapse their gallery. To prevent this, when everything was complete, and the tower ready to be fired, selected soldiers were sealed in the end of the mine beyond the tower with a wall of rubble and stone. Signal of the attack would be the collapse of the tower. Obviously, the plan did not work. Either smoke seeped through the mine block, or the end of the mine collapsed and trapped the forward party. The Roman coins are not so easy to explain but it is not hard to believe that soldiers, who had carried their raids so successfully as to cut Dura off from help,

should have Roman money as part of the loot in their pockets.

However you prefer to interpret the blocked tunnels and the bodies found in them, the Sassanian plans were rudely thwarted by the work of a man who had then been dead five centuries. When the underground supports had burned away, Tower 19 and fifty feet of the curtain wall sagged and sank. But the engineer who, in that far-off day of Dura's founding, had designed the fortifications of the city, had done his work well. The tower, roughly dropped eight feet into the cavernous grave prepared beneath it, failed to collapse, failed to open an avenue to the besiegers, failed to betray Dura to her enemies (FIGURE 2B). Today, 1700 years later still, Tower 19 is standing, battered but still defensible, still menacing the Syrian plain.

Redeployment

THE SASSANIANS withdrew to think things over.

At the southwest corner of the walls, at the edge of the south wadi and visible in the left foreground of FIGURE 1, stands Tower 14. As may be seen from the picture, its south side lies along the deep ravine, while the west facade is turned toward the desert. The ravine allowed the Sassanians to approach the tower with less danger from hostile arrows, partially screened from observation. About forty meters west of this tower, therefore, a new mine was begun from the ravine toward the tower, through the soft native rock. This mine is a narrow, twisting tunnel, unsupported by wood and scarcely the height of a man. In its progress toward the tower it crossed two sepulchral chambers, a part of the vast necropolis which covered the desert outside the west wall of the city.

In the gallery were found objects lost or abandoned by the miners; pendants, roughly-made limestone lamps, a ring, etc. Other small objects, such as a glass vase of the type known as tear bottles, doubtless came from the tombs violated in the course of construction.

So skillfully was this narrow gallery directed that it ends exactly under the middle of Tower 14. At this point the mine comes

nearer to the surface and widens out in approaching the foundations of the tower. The widening allowed the construction of a mudbrick wall to help support the timbers of the wooden scaffolding. Here a little gallery branches off and leads directly to the ravine, probably to furnish a draft for the fire. To provide for a sufficient current of air and perhaps in the hope of setting fire to the tower, the miners at the moment of withdrawal seem also to have opened a window toward the interior. Clearly these Sassanian engineers were expert in their profession.

The effect produced by the firing of the mine is clearly shown in the photograph (FIGURE 5). The gallery ran along the west, north and east walls of the tower, and under part of the north curtain. If it ran also under the south wall, it did not at any rate cause the wall to slip down at that point. From the remains of the gallery beneath the sunken wall was recovered a large quantity of stakes and of planks, many of them containing large iron nails. Near the east side of the tower some stakes jutting toward the outside of the wall were found in place. All were partly burned.

It seems clear, here, that this mine was successfully dug and fired, with great damage to the fortifications of Dura; but here again the Sassanian success was short of complete. Buttressed by the massive embankments of earth and mud brick within and without, the tower did not entirely collapse, a tribute to its first builder and to the man who designed its reinforcement. But this time the Sassanians had not depended wholly upon the collapse of the tower.

Assault by Ramp

STARTING again from the plain, a little more than a hundred feet west of Tower 14, the Sassanians began to build an earthen ramp sloping up to the wall. With the defenders manning every inch of the ramparts, and well supplied with fresh arrows, the danger to unprotected laborers must have been intolerable. We must therefore suppose that the Sassanian engineers provided some kind of testudo, a huge shield on rollers so that it could be moved forward as the work pro-

gressed, behind which the men who carried and piled the fatal earth could move in relative safety.

The situation of the defenders was thenceforth desperate, but in the hour of their appointment with destiny they did not falter. Slowly the testudo moved forward and up; inexorably the wide sloping mound grew nearer to the doomed battlements. The garrison, however, raised the height of the wall by piling mudbrick on the top of the stone battlements. They refused to surrender.

In the meantime the besiegers were plotting still another menace. Begun in the open plain but continued directly beneath the



FIGURE 5. TOWER 14 (SOUTHWEST TOWER) FROM THE EMBANKMENT, AFTER EXCAVATION, SHOWING SETTLING AND PARTIAL COLLAPSE CAUSED BY PERSIAN MINE.

(*Dura Report* VI, Plate 12)

ramp, they were digging a third mine, aimed to come to the surface within the city immediately behind the point at which the ramp was aimed. Here they could work with almost no fear of detection, with the defenders giving their whole attention to the workers on the ramp, and the noise and confusion of the ramp construction drowning out the faint reverberations of the men at work below.

This mine was the biggest of all; ten feet wide and almost high enough for men to march erect, it could easily permit the passage of infantry running four abreast. It passes just

beneath the foundations of the curtain wall, and then rises to the surface of the desert rock within the embankment. Here it was supported by planks and posts, as the mass of ashes and bits of wood testify. It turns slightly south, proceeds through a door of one of the houses buried by the embankment, turns slightly north again, and ends some distance from the bottom of the embankment

When these earthworks were completed Dura's final day had dawned. It was soon over. At a signal the shoring under Tower 14 was fired; the big tunnel was packed with shock troops, fully armed and eager for the booty before them; other fighters crowded behind their shield at the crest of the ramp, a few short feet from the walls. Tower 14 tottered and began to crumble and its de-

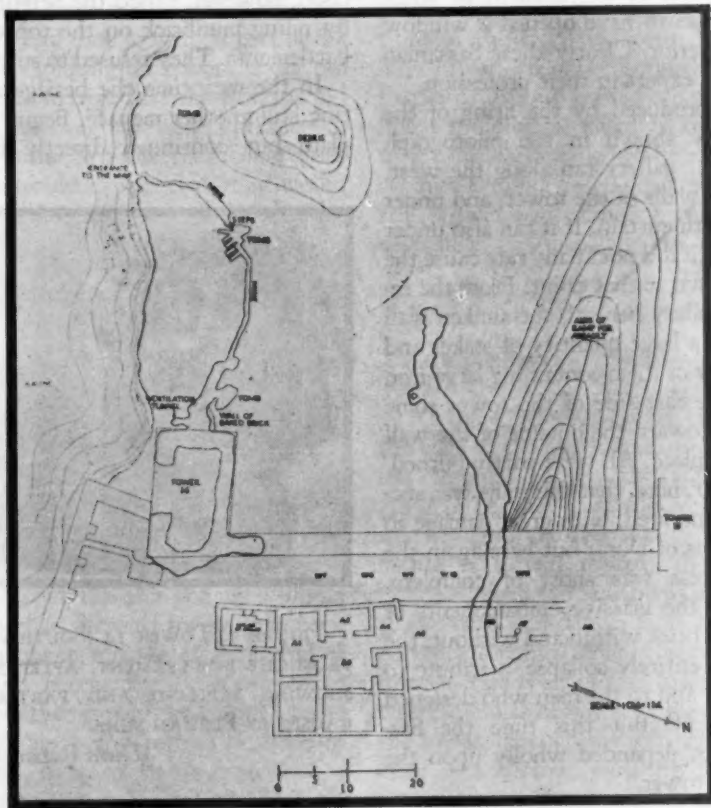


FIGURE 6. TOWER 14 (SOUTHWEST TOWER): PLAN OF PERSIAN MINES AND ASSAULT RAMP.

(*Dura Report vi, Plate 12*)

face. At this point it must have mounted straight up to the sloping face of the embankment. A skeleton found at the end tells of either a fight at the mouth of the mine or an accident in its construction. Assaultants reaching the interior of the city through this mine could take the defenders in the rear just where the chief attack of the Persians on the ramp was concentrated (FIGURE 6).

Defenders ran for their lives; and the Sassanian throng rushed over and under the walls to overwhelm the city. Racing through the streets to be first to reach the loot, they slew all who resisted; the rest were reserved for slavery. Dura was no small town; the sack may have lasted several days. When it was over Dura was no more, and the deserted site was left to the vultures and the scorpions.

Unique in the annals of war. . . . Why should this be said of Dura? In the grim history of armies countless cities have been taken by siege, their women and children enslaved, their grown men murdered, their children taken into slavery. Countless sappers have driven countless mines beneath the walls of settlements that dared resist, and have died miserably in the dark, in cave-ins or the vicious infighting of the countermines.

But the siege of Dura is unique because there is no ancient record of it, no author, no text on stone or bronze or papyrus to describe for us the Battle of the Sap or the wild fury of that day

when the Sassanian horde swarmed across the walls and into the streets. For the story we have no evidence except that turned up by the spade of the archaeologist; and that is the story we have retold here.*

* Details of the mines are taken almost verbatim from the formal reports of M. Du Mesnil du Buisson, vice-director of the excavations, with whom I had the pleasure of collaborating in three campaigns at Dura. Both the report and the illustrations are in large part contained in *Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Report of the Sixth Season of Work* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1936), pages 188-205 and plates 12 and 28.

Note

PRESUMPTION REBUKED

THE RISE of the principate at Rome, it is well known, was attended by the decline of forensic oratory, and in an environment unfriendly to free speech the declamation supplanted genuine pleading before the public assemblies or senate. Yet not everyone succumbed to the allurements or pretensions of these rhetorical exercises; an amusing tale which shows how Cicero was still venerated as the master of eloquence enlivens the preface to the third book of the elder Seneca's *Controversiae*.¹ Cassius Severus, a prominent lawyer, seemed to Seneca an ineffectual declaimer in spite of great natural gifts. Pressed for an explanation, Cassius denounced the unreality of declamation and declared its practitioners incompetent at confronting actual legal situations. As an example, he recounted his joust with Lucius Cestius Pius, one of the best known of the rhetoricians.

The quarrel began when Cestius undertook to deliver a speech in *Milonem*, thereby setting himself up as Cicero's hypothetical adversary. Pompously he began by proclaiming, "If I were a Thracian (i.e., a gladiator), I would be Fusius; if a mime, Bathyllus; if a horse, Melissio." Not brooking such conceit,

Cassius interrupted with "If you were a sewer (*cloaca*), you would be the greatest of those, too (*maxima*)!" Consternation on the part of Cestius's admirers, ribald laughter from the others. The man who was about to reply so brazenly to Cicero, says the narrator, had no words with which to silence a heckler, and merely asserted that he would not continue until Cassius left the house. To this demand Cassius rejoined that he would not quit the public bath, where the speech was being delivered, until he had washed.

Subsequently, he continues, it was his pleasure to seek legal redress for Cicero from the declaimer. He hailed Cestius before a praetor, and after abusing and mocking the poor fellow, demanded that the magistrate inscribe him as defendant under the law dealing with *inscriptum maleficio*; Cestius was so distraught that he asked to be permitted to procure legal counsel. Then Cassius, dragging him before a second praetor, charged him on a count of *ingratum*. As a third action, for appointment of a *curator*, was being sought from the *praetor urbanus*, Cestius's friends entreated the merciless persecutor to desist from harassing his victim further. Cassius agreed, on condition that Cestius

take oath that he regarded Cicero as more eloquent than himself, but the declaimer could not, *vel ioco vel serio*, be induced to do so.

Acquaintance with the content of the declamations illuminates the humor of the legal horseplay considerably. *Inscriptum maleficium* (malicious injury not covered by specific enactment), *ingratum* (ingratitude), and *dementia* or *insania*, involving an action for appointment of a *curator* (guardian for an insane person), are among the charges which appear oftenest in the extant collections of themes for declamation. One of Seneca's *Controversiae*, for instance, concerns a man who, having attempted to hang himself after suffering shipwreck and losing his wife and three sons in a fire which destroyed his home, was cut down before he had taken his life, and consequently sued his rescuer for *inscriptum maleficium*.² The same charge is preferred in two declamations from pseudo-Quintilian's collection which deal with a rich man accused of suborning his parasite to rape a poor man's daughter; the loss of virginity cost her the nomination to a sacerdotal office for which she was a rival of the rich man's daughter.³ Such is also the ground of a prosecution by a poor man who charges that his son was furnished funds by a rich enemy for the purchase of a mistress.⁴

Unfilial behavior is fundamentally the basis for the many disinheritance proceedings which figure in the declamations, though the cases are presented as justifications of, or protests against, *abdicatio*. Two subjects from pseudo-Quintilian, however, actually make *ingratum* the specific charge: one is lodged by a wealthy man who financed a poor youth's legal training, only to have his protégé appear as advocate against him in a trial for treason;⁵ the other by a father who, having divorced his wife, objects to his son's supporting her.⁶ Two cases, involving respectively divorce and the punishment of adultery, and having *ingratum* as the charge, are found in Seneca.⁷ Five declamations of the Senecan corpus⁸ and three from pseudo-Quintilian⁹ are concerned with insanity.

These, then, are all types of suit which a

declaimer should have been ably qualified to argue if his own interests were involved in real proceedings. Nothing stood in the way of prosecuting such charges in a Roman court rather than the classroom,¹⁰ for an action for ingratitude (seemingly the least plausible basis for a case) was open to a father seeking to recover *patria potestas* over an emancipated son, and to a patron over a manumitted slave who disregarded his obligations as a freedman.¹¹ This actual foundation for such a plea points to the interpretation that Cassius is accusing Cestius of unfilial conduct in striving to rival Cicero, the father of all subsequent oratory.

Naturally, no real suits would have been admitted on the grounds alleged against Cestius (that in seeking to rebut Cicero's speech *pro Milone* he was guilty of mischief not covered by written enactments but punishable under unwritten law, of ingratitude toward a father or patron, and of insane behavior necessitating the appointment by the court of a guardian). Nor does Cassius say that even by way of lending encouragement to the jest the praetors gave him the actions he demanded. Rather, one must assume that Cestius, accustomed only to the fantastic themes of the rhetorical schools, saw no unreasonableness in being hailed before a court of law to answer to these ridiculous charges. Furthermore, believing himself in jeopardy, he was unwilling to trust to his own resources and plead for himself. Cassius had hit shrewdly on a way to make his enemy a laughingstock, turning against him the very scholastic weapons that had a counterpart in legal practice.

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NOTES

¹ A. Kiessling, *Annaei Senecae Oratorum et Rhetorum Sententiae Divisiones Colores* (Leipzig, 1872) loc. cit., sections 16-17.

² v, 1.

³ Decl. 292, 370.

⁴ Decl. 344.

⁵ Decl. 333.

⁶ Decl. 368.

The Tale of Troy: An Early Romantic Approach

Elizabeth Hazelton Haight

DURING the Middle Ages the Siege of Troy was as popular a theme for romance as were the deeds of Alexander. "From the seventh to the sixteenth century," writes Wager,¹ the story of Troy "was the subject of history, of poetical and prose romance, and of the drama. It is associated with the names of Benoit de Sainte-More, Boccaccio, Chaucer, Lydgate, and Shakespeare. . . . The *Iliad* of Homer in the Middle Ages was practically unknown. The mediaeval poets gained their knowledge of the events and heroes of the siege of Troy from Latin sources,—from Virgil, Ovid, Statius, among classical writers, and from Pindarus Thebanus, Dictys Cretensis, and Dares Phrygius, among the writers of the Latin decadence."

For the history of the Greek Romances, the work of Dictys Cretensis is most important, for his *Ephemeris Belli Troiani* shows a very early romantic approach to the tale of Troy. It is, indeed, as we shall see, a Latin version of a lost Greek novel. It was, however, during

the Middle Ages regarded as authentic history, a Latin translation of a narrative older than the *Iliad* of Homer, written by a contemporary of the Trojan war who participated in it. Proper appreciation of Dictys' writing will be enhanced by comparison with two other Latin works of the early centuries of our era which are thought to have preceded and followed his work. The first is the *Ilias Latina*; the second is the *De Excidio Troiae* of Dares Phrygius.

The *Ilias Latina*,² a Latin poem of 1070 hexameters, is a paraphrase and summary of Homer's *Iliad*. While the order of the narrative is followed, the condensation of the books is disproportionate. The first five books of the *Iliad* occupy half the Latin poem. Individual books in the Latin vary in length from three lines to 149. The date of the poem is reasonably set before Nero's death in 68 A.D., because of the allusion in lines 899-902 to the Julian dynasty. Aeneas is described:

Quem nisi servasset magnarum rector aquarum,
Ut profugus laetis Troiam repararet in arvis
Augustumque genus claris submitteret astris,
Non carae gentis nobis mansisset origo.

"Had not great Ocean's ruler saved the prince
To flee and build new Troy in happier lands,
Raising a stock majestic to the stars,
The clan Rome loves would ne'er have come to stay."³

Plentiful imitations of Vergil and Ovid determine Augustan influence.

The question of authorship is more puzzling than that of the date. Lines 1-8 and 1063-1070 with slight initial changes present two acrostics reading "Italicus scripsit." This Italicus was thought to be Silius Italicus,

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author of the *Punica*, an epic of the Second Punic War, written in 17 books totaling 12,200 lines. As he was born about A.D. 25 and lived to be over 75, the date assigned to him is possible. But nowhere is there any mention of an *Ilias* by Silius, not even in Martial's eulogy of his works (7. 63), and the cognomen *Italicus* was such a common one that some other person bearing it may well be indicated. Certain scholars, seeing a mesostich in the first six lines, *Pieris*, and reading *Italice* in the initials of the first seven lines, would reconstruct "*Italice Pieris scripsit*," that is "The Muse has translated into Italian" the *Iliad* of Homer.

Another problem connected with the author is the addition to the title in the Middle Ages of the name Pindarus Thebanus. Of the various explanations offered for the assignment of the Greek original to Pindar, none is satisfactory.

The Iliad for Schools

WHOEVER the author of the *Ilias Latina* was, the object of his work seems fairly clear. He seems to have been writing a school book, for his own pupils or for the schools of his time in general, to fix in the memory of the young the main events of the Trojan War. It is possible that this short epitome was meant to be learned by heart. Plessis thinks that one of its values is that it gives us an idea of methods of education in the Roman schools under the first emperors.⁴ The author was not pretentious or ambitious as was Livius Andronicus when he translated the whole of the *Odyssey* into Saturnian verse, or Cn. Matius who translated the whole of the *Iliad* into Latin hexameters, or Attius Labeo who translated all the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. This *Italicus* aimed at something far more modest: to present in simple form to the young "the tale of Troy divine."

To condense the twenty-four books of the *Iliad* to handy compass, the author made certain characteristic changes. His intrusion of himself was slight, at the beginning in the invocation of his muse, at the end in his appeal to Calliope, Pallas, and Phoebus for their blessing. His own interests seem to have de-

termined the diminished part of the gods in the narrative and the omission of certain famous romantic passages.

In Book xiii, Poseidon's great part in helping the Greeks, during the cessation of Zeus' interest when he turned his gleaming eyes northward away from the toils of Greeks and Trojans, is condensed to a single line:

Neptunus vires Danais animumque ministrat.⁵

And the brilliant description of the two sons of Cronus, Zeus and Poseidon, later marshalling the armies is entirely omitted.⁶ In Book xiv, all the machinations of Hera against Zeus are omitted and the whole, long episode of Hypnos, God of Sleep. In Book xv, all the scenes on Ida and Olympus, Zeus' restrictions on Hera and Poseidon, his injunctions to Apollo have no place in *Italicus*' narrative. The progress of the battles of heroes is to him more important than the wrangles of the gods.

Romantic Passages Omitted

STRANGER still is his omission of certain famous romantic passages. Of these the three most notable are Helen's arrival on the wall when her beauty enthralled the twittering old men of Troy. (Book iii); the pathetic lament of Briseis over the dead body of Patroclus, her only true friend (Book xix); and (also in xix) the famous speech of the horse Xanthus to Achilles, his doomed master. These changes are far more significant than the minor changes from the narrative of the *Iliad* of Homer.

Such variations are the fact that in l. 857, the forge of Vulcan is placed on Etna, which is not mentioned in the *Iliad*. In l. 999, Hector's body is dragged around the walls of Troy as in the *Aeneid*, but not in the *Iliad*. In l. 151, words of Ulysses are attributed to Nestor. In l. 372, Democoon is killed by Agamemnon instead of by Ulysses. In l. 839, Antilochus instead of Menelaus carries the body of Patroclus to the camp of the Greeks. In l. 855, Achilles begs of his mother new armor; in the *Iliad*, Thetis offers it.⁷ Duff thinks that some of these changes may be due to his trusting to memory and that they "acquit the author of having been a slavishly close translator."⁸

In style the *Ilias Latina* is simple, plain, flowing, rapid. It displays few adornments. There are some apostrophes, some rhetorical questions, many direct speeches, none of them long. The similes are so few that they are memorable, and though epic in coloring, they are (except in one instance) not translations. Paris at first sight of Menelaus rushed back to his companions as terrified as one who had just seen a snake.⁹ Paris and Menelaus met in battle like two stalwart bulls contending for a shining cow.¹⁰ Diomedes dashed into the midst of the enemy as a savage, hungry lioness rushes into a herd of cattle.¹¹ Idaeus could not prevent Diomedes from slaying his brother any more than a mother-bird can prevent a hawk from mangling her young.¹² Hector attacked and terrified the Greeks as a wolf does the herds.¹³ Agamemnon attacked the Trojans as an exultant Libyan lion rushes on pasturing flocks.¹⁴ Greeks and Trojans fight like wild boars.¹⁵ Achilles pursued Hector as in a dream when a phantom pursues the sleeper; the one flees always, the other always follows, and there is no rest.¹⁶ All these comparisons illuminate battle vignettes.

In diction the *Ilias Latina* has many reminiscences of Latin poets, several of Vergil¹⁷ and Ovid,¹⁸ two of Lucretius,¹⁹ one of Horace.²⁰ The hexameters are post-Ovidian.²¹ Read aloud, they flow along easily and smoothly, favoring the rapidity of the story. Test by such reading some of the great passages: Hector's farewell to his little son,²² the conversation of Achilles and Hector,²³ the speech of Priam to Achilles.²⁴ This will give you an idea of how treasured a school-book this *Ilias Latina* may have been in the early Empire and why its popularity was so great in the Middle Ages.

Dictys of Crete

ITALICUS, or Pindarus Thebanus, wrote in the Latin *Iliad* a small epic which was no more than it claimed to be: a short narrative in Latin of the events of the Trojan war as told by Homer. Dictys of Crete in his *Ephemeris Belli Troiani* had a very different conception and aim. This Latin story in six books, while claiming to be a history, falls

easily from form, introduction, and probable date into the category of romance. And although it is true to no one type of the Greek Romances (historical novels, love stories, tales of adventure) it approaches the Alexander Romance in its emphasis on the deeds of a military hero, yet creates for itself a new theme.

The Latin tale, as it stands, is divided into four parts, for Books I to V form a homogeneous group, Book VI has different subject matter, and prefixed to these are a Prologus and an Epistola, each unique in material.²⁵ In Books I to V, the Trojan war from beginning to end is recorded. In Book VI, the story takes up the return of the various Greek heroes to their country. Since Book VI is out of line with the plan of the whole book, Meister thinks it must be considered a sort of addendum. A striking difference between these two parts is that in the first the author mentions himself only once,²⁶ but in the second he does this often and also repeatedly refers to his country, Crete.

Dictys tries to show the mistakes in Homer's narrative of the Trojan war and to improve on him and other ancient sources. Everything miraculous like the carrying off of Iphigeneia (I. 21 f.), the divine parentage of Achilles (6. 7, I. 14) and of Memnon (6. 10), the adventure of Ulysses (6. 14-15) he explains rationalistically and remodels. There are also changes in the order of events, for example the death of Ajax is placed after the fall of Troy and is motivated differently (5. 15). Certain arbitrary changes are made: the high command is taken away from Agamemnon at Aulis for a long period (I. 19); Achilles kills Hector in an ambush (3. 15); the father of Agamemnon is not Atreus, but Pleisthenes (I. 1).²⁷

As for parts III and IV, the Prologus seems to be by the same author as the rest of the book, but the Epistola of L. Septimius to Q. Aradius Rufinus differs in several points from the statements in the prologue, and these differences are so great that the letter must be considered an addition by some grammaticus.

After this brief description of this History of the Trojan War, we are ready to inquire

who the author was and when it was written. There is no other trace of a Greek Dictys, and it seems clear that the author invented this companion of Idomeneus of Crete. Meister thinks he did this to give his history greater credence and prestige as written by one who was present at the events described. Dares the Phrygian was invented in the same way as author of *De Excidio Troiae Historia*, but he was mentioned in Homer as a companion of Teucer. I myself believe that the author, aware that he was writing a romance, not history, adopted a common device of the writers of the Greek Romances, the use of a fictitious narrator to give color and life to the story.²⁸ Also he was indicating that his work was based on a Greek original as scholars now are inclined to believe.²⁹ And the inventions in Prologue and Letter were conceived to preserve the Greek author's anonymity, to acknowledge the Latin author's debt to this Greek prototype, and to give a fanciful explanation of the transfer to the Latin language.

The author, then, must be regarded as unknown, but it is clear that he was well acquainted with Greek and Roman literature and used excellent sources, especially Homer. He was probably a learned *rhetor*, who added to the work its ornate decorations and its elegancies. As he borrowed material from different authorities, so too he borrowed words from writers of different periods. Hence his style was *impurus*; with many phrases and constructions of later Latinity such as are found in Apuleius, Hegesippus, Ammianus, Sulpicius Severus, Orosius. It is, therefore, probable that he wrote in the third or fourth century. In some parts he imitated the oldest poets of the Romans, in others Vergil. Here and there he followed Cicero, Livy, Tacitus, Cornelius Nepos, most of all Sallust. He even transferred to Agamemnon, Ulysses and others remarks made by Sallust about Jugurtha, Marius, Catiline.

The Prologue may well be quoted to show the verisimilitude of the introduction of the fictitious narrator, Dictys, and the tradition of the marvellous discovery of the original romance and its translation into Greek.

PROLOGUS

Dictys, a Cretan by origin, was a citizen of Gnosus in the same times in which the Attridae also lived. He was an ally of Idomeneus, son of Deucalion and of Merion from Molus, who had come as commanders with an army against Ilium. By them he was commissioned to write the Annals of the Trojan war. He recorded the whole war in nine books on linden bark in Phoenician characters. Then after he returned to Crete, as an old man, on dying he directed that the books should be buried with him. So as he had ordered, the books on bark were sealed in a small lead chest and placed in his tomb. But in later times, in the thirteenth year of Nero's reign, in the state of Gnosus there was an earthquake, which ruined many objects and also opened the sepulchre of Dictys so that passers-by saw the chest. And so when passing shepherds had seen it, they took it away from the sepulchre, believing it a treasure. But when it was opened, they found books inscribed in an unknown language and straightway bore them to their master a certain Eupraxides. He took these books, not knowing what they were, to Rutilius Rufus, then the man of consular rank in that island. He with Eupraxides himself took them to Nero and handed them over to him believing that some secret matters were contained in them. So when Nero had received them, and had perceived that the language was Punic, he called to him men who knew that language, and ordered that they should be translated into Greek, so by them a truer narrative of the Trojan war was made known to all. Then he presented Eupraxides with gifts and with Roman citizenship and sent him home. The annals inscribed with the name of Dictys he put in a Greek library. The text that follows shows their order of events.

The *Epistola*, which precedes the Prologue and is undoubtedly a later addition, gives a name to the Latin translator and declares that the history was originally composed in nine books, but the Latin translator, while retaining the number and contents of the first five books, condensed the last four into one. This seems a plausible explanation of the very brief summary of the returns of the heroes.

Now we may ask what the nature of Dictys' story is and test it by the conventional themes of the Greek Romances: love, adventure, and religion. Of these touchstones, religion claims a priority by its clearly manifested presence. Inevitably, since the material

is largely taken from the *Iliad*, the cults of Apollo and Athena (Minerva) are predominant. Few other deities are mentioned: Diana in Crete, Argive Juno. Oracles, prophesies, and dreams often control actions. But the gods who function constantly in the narrative are Apollo and Athena. (However, Agamemnon's sacrilege in killing Diana's pet she-goat brought on a pestilence and the demand for the sacrifice of Iphigeneia.) The insult done Chryses, priest of Apollo, by the capture of his daughter and the assignment of her to Agamemnon caused another pestilence. Achilles fell in love with Polyxena in the Temple of Thymbrian Apollo where Greeks and Trojans both worshipped. And in that temple Achilles was treacherously slain by Paris: Troy could be destroyed only when the Palladium was stolen from the Temple of Athena. The wooden horse was a pretended sacrifice to Athena. At the fall of Troy the altars and shrines of the gods were drenched with the blood of those who had taken refuge there. Neoptolemus slew Priam at the Altar of Jupiter of the Hearth. Ajax son of Oileus dragged Cassandra away from the shrine of Athena. Neoptolemus went to Delphi to offer thanks to Apollo because Alexander had been punished for the murder of Achilles. The worship of these gods is the religious background of the story.

Rationalization of Myths

THE LATIN author shows a tendency to rationalize myths which may have been due to individual scepticism about large stories. Two versions, one mythological, one rational, are given of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis and the plague of locusts at Delphi.

Against this background of religion, there is no central theme of love to unify the tale of Troy. No single pair of hero and heroine confronts us whose fates we follow about the world to final happiness. Many ladies, to be sure, cross the pages and are involved in romantic adventures. Their names are as famous as their stories: the Greek Helen, Clytemnestra, Iphigeneia, Hermione; the Trojan Hecuba, Cassandra, Polyxena, and Andromacha; the Amazon Penthesilea; and

the captive princesses, Astynome, daughter of Chryses, Hippodamia, and Tecmessa.

Unimportance of Helen

HELEN might have been made the center of the romance since hers was "the face that launch'd a thousand ships / And burnt the topless towers of Ilium." But she seems no more important in the story than the captive princesses or the daughters of Hecuba. The author brands Alexander's kidnapping of her as a shocking crime and throughout the negotiations over her possible return he emphasizes that the Trojans were loath to give up the booty which Alexander stole with her. The common people of Troy from the first would gladly have sent Helen back, but the royal family, Priam, Hecuba, and their sons, defended Alexander's deed and Helen's choice. For Helen publicly announced in the Trojan assembly that she had come to Troy of her own free will and marriage with Menelaus did not suit her. Whenever negotiations for peace were reopened, the same demands passed from the Greeks to the Trojans: Helen and the booty or continued war. Wise Antenor could never persuade the other princes to accept these terms. It was not until the terrible end of the siege was approaching with Alexander and Hector dead that Helen secretly begged Antenor to plead with the Greeks for her, and tell them that since Alexander's death everything at Troy was hateful to her and she longed to return to her own people. But this *volte-face* did not prevent another Trojan prince from claiming her. When, by the sack of Troy, Menelaus found her living with Deiphobus he tortured and killed her last paramour. Menelaus was, however, thankful to Ulysses for having saved Helen's life against Ajax' wish and he was proud of the admiration she excited in Crete where they stopped on their way back to Sparta.

The Romance of Polyxena

JUST AS IMPORTANT in the *Ephemeris* as Helen's story is the story of Polyxena, and it contains more romance. Achilles fell in love

at first sight with this daughter of Priam in the Temple of Apollo, for she was very beautiful. The Greek sent to Hector an offer of marriage for his sister, but the condition which Hector demanded was the surrender of the Greek army and Achilles said he would rather die in the next battle than grant this. Agamemnon and Menelaus told him to bide his time, for Troy soon would fall and the girl be his. But the war went on, and the next time Achilles saw Polyxena, she came with her royal father to Achilles' hut and offered to give herself to him if he would relinquish Hector's body for burial. Achilles was so touched by this sisterly devotion that he yielded the body and sent Polyxena home with Priam with every honor.

It was his love for Polyxena that finally betrayed Achilles, for while he was waiting in the Temple of Apollo for an answer from Priam to his renewed proposal of marriage, Alexander and Deiphobus caught him unaware and slew him. That was why, at the sack of Troy, the Greeks thought it fitting to sacrifice Polyxena on Achilles' mound. Here is a story within a story which has the elements of romance, but its ending is tragic.

Adventures of War

THE BACKBONE of the *Ephemeris* consists of adventures of war. After the declaration, we read of sacrifices and preparations, of sailings, and landings, of battles and truces for burial of the dead, of the siege closing in, of renewed negotiations for peace, of treachery and disaster, of the final fall of Troy, arson, murder, booty, then the returns home. The motives for the war are clear: a woman's beauty, thirst for gold, a nationalistic desire for predominating power. Terrible atrocities are related: the insults to dead bodies; the killing of young Polydorus before the walls of Troy; the heartless execution of the Amazon queen. Acts of sacrilege arouse horror which cries *vae victoribus* as Priam is slain at the altar of Jupiter, Cassandra is dragged from the Temple of Minerva, and the shrines of the gods are drenched in the blood of human beings who had taken refuge there. The sins of the fathers are visited upon the

children, for in the return home Neoptolemus, Orestes and other young princes encounter personal tragedies. War is after all not glorious, but a terrible business. Who can forget the sack of Troy?

Structural Failure

SUCH is the loose plot of this Latin story. If the whole work is compared with the Greek Romances (their conventional themes and endings) it is a failure in structure. It is not unified by concentrated interest in a hero and heroine who are lovers, or in one great military hero as in the Alexander romance. The multiplicity of heroes and heroines, of themes, of episodes, confound the issue. The reader is reminded of Aristotle's warning against trying to make a tragedy out of an epic:³⁰

"Again, the poet should remember what has been often said, and not make an Epic structure into a tragedy—by an Epic structure I mean one with a multiplicity of plots—as if, for instance, you were to make a tragedy out of the entire story of the *Iliad*. In the Epic poem, owing to its length, each part assumes its proper magnitude. In the drama the result is far from answering to the poet's expectation. The proof is that the poets who have dramatised the whole story of the Fall of Troy, instead of selecting portions, like Euripides; . . . either fail utterly or meet with poor success on the stage."

Aristotle's strictures about using epic material are as pertinent for a romance as for a play. And Dictys has attempted to include in his story not only the *Iliad*, but an outline of the *Odyssey* and the *nostoi* from the Cyclic Poets. It is no wonder that his *Ephemeris* is confused.

Nonetheless, I believe it is to be classified as a romance and that the unknown writer of the Greek original contributed a new theme to the conventional ones of the Greek Romances. This theme is "The City," for this story is not so much the history of individuals, or of Greeks and Trojans, but a tale of windy Troy, her power, her sins, her downfall, her expiation. That is why, in the story, as on many Greek vases, the greatest scene is the *Iliupersis*, for cities like individuals have personalities and their lives may

make great romance and their downfall high tragedy.

Another Latin version of the story of Troy is entitled *De Excidio Troiae Historia* by Dares Phrygius. It is no more a history than is the *Ephemeris* of Dictys the Cretan: it is a later but similar attempt at Romance. The name Dares occurs in *Iliad* 5. 9-10, where he is said to be rich and blameless, a priest of Hephaestus. There is a long tradition about a Greek work by Dares, for such a history of Troy is referred to by Ptolomaeus Hephaestionis (70-100 A.D.), Aelian (ca. 170 A.D.), Isidorus (570-640), and Eustathius (flor. 1175). Aelian's statement³¹ about the *Iliad* of Dares makes it probable that there did exist "a Greek or Phrygian history of the Trojan War, not contemporary with the events, but dating from an epoch when the work of the cyclic and tragic poets still existed intact."³² Possibly the name of Dares was inserted at a later time because of the general belief that Dares wrote an *Iliad*. We do not know the author's sources besides Homer and Dictys, but it is clear that while Dictys favored the Greeks, Dares has so shaped his narrative that he seems to favor the Trojans.

Dares the Phrygian

THE GREEK Dares was perhaps translated into Latin about the first century A.D.³³ And that translation produced the extant abridgment, which was probably written in the sixth century.³⁴ Manuscripts of the ninth century are extant. The assignment of this version to Cornelius Nepos is preposterous.

The Prologue gives fair evidence that its writer is a Christian where it says, in discussing Homer's inferiority to Dares as an authority, "de qua re Athenis iudicium fuit cum pro insano haberetur quod deos cum hominibus belligerasse scripserit."³⁵ The style is very careless: the same words, the same constructions are repeated over and over; there is no variety in descriptions; everything is told very simply and, if possible, in the same manner, even in the same words. It contains only forty-four chapters. The only unique features are the mention of the Thesidae as officials with Anius in charge of

the grain supply, and the introduction of conventional *characteres*, descriptions of the appearance and qualities of the Greek leaders and ladies.

The introductory letter of Cornelius Nepos to his friend Sallustius Crispus reads in part:

"At Athens I came upon the history of Dares the Phrygian written in his own hand as the title indicates, which he wrote about the Greeks and Trojans. Seizing upon it with avidity I translated it at once. I thought I should not add or subtract anything. . . . I thought it best as it had been written truthfully and simply to translate it into Latin word for word that readers would know how matters were: whether they should consider true what Dares the Phrygian wrote who lived and fought at that very time when Greeks and Trojans contended or believe Homer, who was born many years after this war was waged."

After this palpably fictitious document, the story begins, not as in Dictys with the visit of Alexander to Sparta and the kidnapping of Helen, but with the voyage of the Argonauts for the golden fleece and Hercules' subsequent punitive expedition against Laomedon, who had ordered the Argonauts off the shores of Ilium. In this raid Laomedon was killed and Hesiona carried off. Priam, the new king, in indignation sent Antenor on a mission to Greece to demand the return of Hesiona. The mission was a failure so the Trojans planned war and Alexander promised to lead it to victory, for he had had a dream ("The Judgment of Paris") in which he had been promised for wife the most beautiful woman in Greece. On the way to Greece, Alexander met Helen in a shrine of Venus at Cythera. Both fell in love at first sight. Alexander kidnapped her and certain other women and with them on his ship sailed home. Priam was delighted, thinking that with Helen as a hostage they could recover Hesiona. All the Greek heroes rallied around Menelaus and prepared for war.

Greek Character Sketches

AT THIS POINT the narrative is interrupted so that Dares may describe the warriors and the women. These descriptions, *characteres*, and those of Malalas seem to have been derived from a common Greek physiognomical

source.³⁶ Fürst thinks that the descriptions of physiognomy in Greek and Latin writers was on the whole similarly indebted "to the material of the photographic description of personal appearance in the Egyptian papyri" and concluded that "the iconistic portrait was for the most part alien to classical Greek literature, but was a native Egyptian method of identification."³⁷ Typical of Dares' descriptions are these five of some of his leading characters, Helen, Alexander, Aeneas, Polyxena, Achilles:³⁸

Helenam . . . formosam animi simplicis blandam
cruribus optimis notam inter duo supercilia habentem ore pusillo.

Alexandrum candidum longum fortem oculis
pulcherrimis capillo molli et flavo ore venusto voce
suavi velocem cupidum imperii.

Aeneam rufum quadratum facundum affabilem
fortem cum consilio pium venustum oculis hilari-
bus et nigris.

Polyxenam candidam altam formosam collo
longo oculis venustis capillis flavis et longis com-
positam membris digitis prolixis cruribus rectis
pedibus optimis, quae forma sua omnes superaret,
animo simplici largam dapsilem.

Achillem pectorosum ore venusto membris
valentibus et magnis iubatum bene crispatum
clementem in armis acerrimum vultu hilari largum
dapsilem capillo myrteo.

A Pro-Trojan Story

AT CHAPTER 15 Dares resumes his narrative. He tells of an embassy to Apollo at Delphi, which received an oracle that after a ten years' war the Greeks would capture Troy; of the sailing of the expedition; of a mission to Priam to propose the return of Helen and peace, which failed; then of battles and truces and deaths of great heroes; finally of the sack of Troy. In certain points Dares differs from Homer and the mythological tradition. Helen is carried off from Cythera. Telephus is on the side of the Greeks. The death of Patroclus occurs in the beginning of the war before the wrath of Achilles, and that wrath is motivated by Achilles' wooing of Polyxena, his unsuccessful dealings with the Trojans, and his jealousy of Palamedes, who, for a time, takes the place of Agamemnon as commanding general. The Attic

heroes, Menestheus and Acamas, are more prominent than in Homer; and Palamedes takes over the role of Ulysses who is rarely mentioned. There is no wooden horse, but a story corresponding to that of the later grammarians³⁹ refers to the head of a horse over the Scaean Gate, through which Aeneas and Antenor let in the Greeks, for Troy falls through a plot made by these Trojan leaders in company with Dolon, Polydamas, and Ucalegon. In general the author favors the Trojans. Achilles is often wounded. The numbers of the fallen are 886,000 Greeks and 676,000 Trojans. Ajax, son of Telamon, is killed by an arrow of Paris.⁴⁰

Achilles and Polyxena

THE GREATEST change of all in the Homeric tradition seems to me in the presentation of the character of Achilles and the emphasis on his love for Polyxena. Achilles is not the invincible young warrior, but is often wounded. Nor is he the supremely patriotic Greek leader. If only Priam will give him Polyxena in marriage, he is ready to end the war by taking his Myrmidons home, certain that the other Greeks will follow him. Hecuba, in Priam's name, lures him to the shrine of Thymbrian Apollo to conclude the peace, and Achilles, with only one companion, goes to the precinct, happy in his love for Polyxena. There from all sides out of their ambush pour the Trojan warriors under Alexander. Achilles dies fighting. Finally after the capture of Troy, when a storm keeps the Greeks from sailing home, the fierce young Neoptolemus perceives that the Manes of Achilles must be appeased by the sacrifice of Polyxena at his father's mound. He finds her and cuts her throat at the tomb. Dares quickly finishes his story with Aeneas' departure from Troy and the numbers of the fallen on both sides. I believe that his originality lay in just this emphasis on the Achilles-Polyxena tale. A greater writer might have made out of this love story a coherent and distinguished Greek romance with a double tragedy for the ending instead of the conventional wedding bells.

Dictys' *Ephemeris* stands out more clearly

after comparison with the *Ilias Latina* and the *De Excidio Troiae*. The small Latin *Iliad* with its simple style and its flowing lines fulfills its evident purpose as a reader's digest of heroic stories. The *De Excidio Troiae*, claiming to be history, proves barren and dull in colorless repetitions, doctored statistics, and physiognomical profiles, enlivened though it is by certain ironic rationalizations, the debunking of heroes, and a skeleton of a tragic love-story. The *Ephemeris* of Dictys presents a moving picture (a cinema) in the grand style of a besieged city, its leaders and its women, its religious cults, its battles and its truces, its human stories, its struggles between royal family and common people, its final overthrow, and the subsequent effect of victory on the victors. Heterogeneous as its material is, undefined as is the theme, the *Ephemeris Belli Troiani* is, even in our rewritten Latin version, a significant early romantic approach to the tale of Troy.

NOTES

¹ C. H. A. Wager, *The Seege of Troye* (New York, 1899) pp. xi and xiii.

² The text used is A. Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores*, Vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1881). For data, bibliography and criticism of the *Ilias Latina* see F. Plessis, *La poésie latine* (Paris, 1909) 528-33 and J. Wight Duff, *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age* (New York, 1934) 341-345.

³ Translated by J. Wight Duff, op. cit., 343.

⁴ F. Plessis, op. cit., 528.

⁵ 1. 772.

⁶ *Iliad*, 13. 345-60.

⁷ F. Plessis, op. cit., 531.

⁸ J. Wight Duff, op. cit., 344-45.

⁹ 252-56.

¹⁰ 298-99.

¹¹ 398-400; cp. *Iliad*, 5. 134-43.

¹² 418-22.

¹³ 488-92.

¹⁴ 500-5.

¹⁵ 587-600.

¹⁶ 938-41.

¹⁷ 58-Aen. 11. 376; 96-Aen. 11. 595; 225-Aen. 5. 368; 236-Aen. 6. 322; 311-Aen. 9. 759; 347-Aen. 5. 840 and Aen. 4. 71; 569-Aen. 3. 468; 700-Aen. 9. 373.

¹⁸ 298-Met. 9. 46; 316-Met. 2. 737; 321-Met. 13. 223; 821-Met. 8. 394; 872-Met. 13. 292.

¹⁹ 109-De rerum nat. 2. 31; 857-De rerum nat. 6. 681.

²⁰ 3-Epode 15. 1-2.

²¹ F. Plessis, op. cit., 532-33; J. Wight Duff, op. cit., 343.

²² 564-74.

²³ 979-97.

²⁴ 1026-42.

²⁵ For this description see F. Meister, *Dictys Cretensis, Ephemeridos Belli Troiani Libri Sex* (Leipzig, 1872) pp. v-x.

²⁶ 1. 13.

²⁷ RE 5. 589-90.

²⁸ E. H. Haight, *Essays on the Greek Romances* (New York, 1943) 101.

²⁹ C. H. A. Wager, op. cit., p. xv; N. E. Griffin, "The Greek Dictys," *AJP* 29 (1908) 329-35, on the recently discovered fragment of the Greek Dictys.

³⁰ *The Poetics of Aristotle*, translated by S. H. Butcher (London, 1936) 18. 4-5; 67.

³¹ *Varia Historia*, 11. 2.

³² C. H. A. Wager, *The Seege of Troye* (New York, 1899) p. xvii.

³³ Meister quotes Dungerus' argument for this date on the ground that the author in his mention of the Argonauts clearly thought of Valerius Flaccus (d. before 90 A.D.), since Philoctetes was mentioned as one of them. F. Meister, *Daretis Phrygii de Excidio Troiae Historia* (Leipzig, 1873) pp. xvi-xvii.

³⁴ Isidore (570-640) quoted it.

³⁵ G. C. Warr, *Teuffel's History of Roman Literature*, revised by Schwabe (London, 1892) 2. 471, 2.

³⁶ J. Fürst, *Die literarische Portraitmanier im Bereich des griechisch-römischen Schrifttums* (Leipzig, 1903) 597: "Dares ist auf keinen Fall die Quelle der malalianischen Personalbeschreibungen gewesen. Vielmehr sind sie dem byzantinischen Chronographen aus der selben Vorlage wie die übrige Troiaerzählung zugekommen und repräsentieren ein relativ rein erhaltenes Stück aus dem griechischen Buche des Dictys von Kreta."

³⁷ Elizabeth C. Evans, "Roman Descriptions of Personal Appearance in History and Biography," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 46, (Cambridge, 1935) 44.

³⁸ C. 12-13.

³⁹ Servius, *Aeneid* 2. 15.

⁴⁰ RE 4. 2213-14.

THE BIRD OF PALLAS ATHENE

A representation of *Athene noctua*, the little European ground owl, appears on Page 251 of this issue as part of the seal of the Archaeological Institute of America. The bird was common in Attica, and was frequently portrayed on Athenian coins from which the seal was copied; in fact, the saying "Owls to Attica" was the ancient equivalent of our "Coals to Newcastle." The present seal is a revised version of the older seal on which the owl's legs were of unequal length. This ornithological injustice was corrected by reference to the coins, on which the owl is unmistakably an isopod.

REX BESTIARUM

TACETE. Residamus. Sileamus omnes. Iam coepit spectaculum. Feras doctas spectaturi sumus. Ecce! Primus in scaenam prodit magister ludi flagello longo armatus. Gestu magnifico theatrum salutat. Nunc prodeunt leones. Quam pulchri! Quam superbi! Bene partes noverunt. Suum quisque locum petit. In tympana lignea ascendunt. Residunt. Flagello magister crepitat. Alius supra alium saltu admirando se praecipitat. Nunc in tympana sua redeunt. Sed spectate. Ad illum leonem iuba eximia appropinquat magister. Sublime tollit orbem flammis circumdatum. Flagello crepitatur. Euge! Summa facilitate per orbem salit leo. Nunc ad illum alterum appropinquat. Signum dat. Bestia mira os latissime aperit. Instar furnacis igneae est. Quam acuti dentes! Hem! caput immittit magister. Obstipuerunt omnes comaeque steterunt. Murmur pavoris per theatrum fluitat. Dis

gratias! Tandem incolumis caput subduxit. Euge, euge, perbene! Omnes respirant. Quam dulce oblectamentum!

Iam diu rex bestiarum appellatur leo. An recte, rogabit aliquis dubitans. Nam, si creditur nostro Plinio, anima leonis taeterrima est. Cantu galli villatici perterretur; neque cristam neque oculum eius intueri audet. Etiam odorem iuris ex cerebro gallinae facti refugit. Huc accedit ut multis bestiis maiores vires sint. Noster quidem ursus horribilis bis tantum pondus suum leonum concidere possit. Etiam simia turpissima plus intelligentiae habet. Denique elephantus omnibus virtutibus longissime antecellit. Estne nihilo minus leo rex bestiarum. Hercle vero. Pulcherrimus enim est histrioque optimus. Scilicet cui dei pulchritudinem histrioniamque largiti sunt ei ingenio opus non est.

ANON.

—Classroom

DUMNORIX AND GALLIC RIVERS

WE ARE TOLD in the first book of Caesar's *Commentaries* that the most powerful individual among the Aedui was Dumnorix, brother of Diviacus; that, in fact, his power was greater than that of the officers of the state itself.

Dumnorix' influence was based largely upon his wealth, which enabled him to win followers. This private fortune, we are told, came in large part from Dumnorix' control of the collection of customs duties. Following a practice which the Romans also observed, the right to collect and keep the taxes and duties was sold to the highest bidder at auction. When Dumnorix put in his bid, naturally a ridiculously low one, no one dared bid against him. This is a familiar procedure in modern racketeering and political graft.

In relating this incident, Caesar told us more than he intended of the economic system of Gaul. If a man could grow more powerful

than the state itself from the collection of customs duties, it follows that these revenues must have been very considerable and that trade and commerce were more extensive than the casual reader of Caesar would imagine.

The student of Caesar should keep in mind that Gaul was naturally a rich country. Trade followed the great river routes with brief land portages from one valley to another. To gain a clear view of this, a student may make an outline map of France, then sketch in rather heavily the great river systems—the Rhone, Saone, Loire, Garonne, Seine, Marne, Meuse, Somme, Moselle, and Rhine. The map will then show how France is naturally endowed with a network of river communication routes which played an important role in the unity and prosperity of ancient Gaul.

J. D. N.

The Lost Ending of Plautus' *Aulularia*

Edwin L. Minar, Jr.

MOST readers of Plautus' *Aulularia*, when they come to the end of the part that is preserved, probably feel that it is quite obvious how the rest of the play must have gone, and that with a few moments' thought they could outline its course. And yet, when one comes to examine the various suggestions that have been made, it is surprising to find many of them differing widely from each other and perhaps from one's own initial conceptions.

It is true that the one main event of the lost ending of the play is definitely known from the acrostic argument,¹ but the question of the execution of the last act is not merely one of idle curiosity. In fact, as will be seen, the interpretation of the play as a whole depends a good deal on the understanding of the nature of its dénouement, and vice versa.

In this play, the main character, Euclio, has a young daughter who has been violated by a young man named Lyconides, and who (without Euclio's being aware of the situation) is about to give birth to a child. Meanwhile Euclio has found a pot of gold hidden by his grandfather. Megadorus, the rich uncle of Lyconides, urged by his sister Eunomia

(Lyconides' mother), asks the hand of Euclio's daughter in marriage, and preparations for a wedding are begun. The pot of gold is stolen by a slave of Lyconides to the great consternation of Euclio, but Lyconides is about to recover it from the slave and return it to its owner at the point where the manuscripts break off. This is in the middle of Act v Scene 1, and all we have left of the remainder of the act is five slight but valuable fragments preserved by late grammarians.

The acrostic argument makes clear what happens in the fifth act when it says, speaking of Lyconides,

illic Euclioni rem refert,
ab eo donatur auro, uxore et filio.

Euclio consents to the marriage, as was to be expected, but also, overcome by some sudden impulse of generosity, presents the newly-recovered treasure to Lyconides as well. It is here that our difficulties begin, in understanding what sort of motive Plautus may have ascribed to him for this act, and the sequence of events that led to it.

The completion written for the play by Urceus Codrus, a professor of Bologna, in about 1500, begins with a long dialogue (70 lines, or more than half of the supplement) completing Scene v. 1, with Lyconides' slave extorting freedom from his master as a reward for bringing him the gold, and with an elaborate witness-ceremony involving Eunomia and Megadorus. Then follows a short speech by Lyconides and the return of the gold to Euclio. The latter declaims rapturously on his joy at recovering the treasure, and Lyconides moralizes briefly on the difficulties which come with wealth. Euclio speaks again of his happiness, says, "quod meritas referam gratis?", and quite suddenly decides to give the money to Lyconides as a

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In addition to his interest in Plautus and Greek and Roman comedy, Professor Minar has worked extensively in the Greek field, and has published a book on Early Pythagorean Politics.

As the author points out in this paper, the interaction between circumstances and character is frequently an important aspect of the best of New Comedy. It is worth noting that Professor Schlesinger points to this same aspect of Sophocles' *Antigone* in his comments on Page 207 of our January issue.

reward for finding it. This is of course a very weak solution. It suggests two motives for giving away the money but makes convincing use of neither, and as the slave says at the end,

naturam auarus Euclio
mutauit: liberalis subito factus est.

The young man speaks of the trials of wealth, and then accepts more of it; and Euclio's motive of gratitude is made to seem absurd when he gives away the entire treasure.

The Character of Euclio

THE QUESTION of the nature of the play's dénouement depends almost entirely, of course, on the interpretation of the character of Euclio. If he is seen as a typical miser, like Harpagon in *l'Avaré*, Molière's imitation of the *Aulularia*, then he apparently undergoes a sudden and complete change of character. Molière rejected this change completely, and his miser remains devoted to his "chère cassette" to the very end.

A good many of the modern scholars who have studied the play have solved the dilemma simply by denying that Euclio is a miser at all. Some argue that Plautus produced the confusion by contamination, spoiling a good play of Menander by introducing elements from another.² In order to avoid this severe judgment on Plautus, Lejay even suggests that the offending parts were added not by him but by a later exhibitor.³ This type of analysis would be much easier if there were just one awkward passage to explain away. In fact most of the characterization of Euclio as *auarus* comes in one scene (II. 4), in which the cooks hired by Megadorus for the wedding dinner discuss with many examples Euclio's extreme parsimony, and this scene has accordingly been rejected by Bonnet, Wilamowitz, Leo, Krieger, and others⁴ as a Plautine insertion. Unfortunately, however, there are several other passages in which the same characterization of Euclio is made,⁵ and it is difficult to reject them all. Jachmann,⁶ pointing to these passages and also to the essential plot-elements (at II. 291-5), which forbid us to regard Scene II. 4 as foreign to

the play, maintains that Euclio is consistently represented as a miser.

Thrifty but not Stingy

ENK⁷ ATTEMPTS to remedy the situation by drawing an elaborate distinction between the *auarus* and the *parcus* and trying to show that it is only the latter term which applies to Euclio. There is considerable truth in this. Euclio is not a miser in the sense of one who is perpetually concerned to be getting and keeping more, but only as a person whose poverty compels constant frugality and has induced such a habit of mind that it is difficult to spend money. "Tenacitas innata impedit, ne thesauro utatur; parsimonia eius abit in metum, ne pecuniam inventam amittat."⁸ Thus it is not necessary to assume a radical alteration in Euclio's fundamental character at the end of the play; but still some change of attitude must be recognized, as the frugal man is not naturally generous any more than the miserly. Euclio's parsimony is not so extreme as to indicate moral turpitude, as some have thought.⁹ There is ample testimony to his goodness of character, as when Eunomia calls him *hominem hau malum* (172). Nevertheless, whether technically *auarus* or not, he is not only *ex paupertate parcus*, as Megadorus says (206), but naturally *avidus ingenio*. This is made clear in the prologue (9, 22) and elsewhere in the play. And this tendency is immediately much heightened with the discovery of the gold. That event brings into his life a host of new complications which are only eliminated when he again frees himself of this unaccustomed burden.

The question remains, just how Plautus introduced and motivated the necessary *peripeteia*. What is it that impels Euclio to his generous action? Jachmann,¹⁰ who has a very high opinion of the merits of the play as a whole, even affirming that the original is the best of Menander's plays of which we have any knowledge, does not believe that anything but a profound "inner experience" can account for the dénouement.

We should like to believe that the poet maintained his remarkably spiritual conception throughout the action, and had Euclio undergo

an inner experience with affected him in a deep stratum of his nature and broke the curse which held him.

He supposes that Euclio, realizing the magnanimity of Lyconides in returning the money, saw that to the rich young man its possession was unimportant, and thus came to the realization,

that there is after all something else in the world besides poor and rich and the opposition between the two, that before all there is the love of human beings for one another, their most beautiful and deepest relationship.

But surely this is to take the play too seriously. It is difficult to imagine a Plautine (or even a Menandrian) play winding up with a philosophical soliloquy reflecting a deep emotional crisis. Such a sober tone would accord ill with the general pattern of the New Comedy, which called for a play to end on a note of merriment, with a general celebration, or *Komos*, and one or more marriages.¹¹ If necessary one might even assume that the conversion of Euclio was hastened by something very worldly—for example by his getting drunk at the wedding dinner which is now possible; but that would involve an unnecessary violation of the unity of time.

Tentative Reconstruction

PERHAPS it will be helpful to attempt to reconstruct in a tentative way the main course of the lost scenes.¹² In the first place it is certain that Lyconides promises to free his slave in return for the restoration of the money, probably without too much delay. The slave doubtless does not deserve this in a moral sense, but Lyconides is in a hurry and feels grateful to be provided with a solution to his problem. Then, while the money is being brought, Lyconides speaks a short soliloquy, or perhaps Euclio comes out and is informed of his good fortune. At this point Megadorus comes on, appearing for the first time since the end of Act III. He has been informed by Eunomia of the predicament of his intended bride and Lyconides, but of course knows nothing yet of Euclio's money. He gives his blessing to the marriage, and easily

persuades Euclio to do the same. There is an opportunity for a good comic scene here, for while Megadorus and Lyconides are mainly concerned about the marriage, Euclio is afraid the former will not leave before the treasure is brought in. However, he is disappointed in this when the slave comes on with it, and he fails in his efforts to conceal the nature of the object he eagerly snatches.

Now Megadorus, in behalf of Lyconides, brings up the matter of a dowry. Perhaps fragment 1 belongs here, as he reminds Euclio of the expenses the young man will have:

*pro illis corcotis, strophæis, sumptu uxorio.*¹³

He might possibly remind him in addition that Lyconides has been to the expense of liberating a slave in order to recover the money for him, and that he will be no worse off than before the money was found (better, in that his daughter will be well married); and he probably hints at the difficulties which the possession of wealth have brought to Euclio. The latter doubtless objects and resists and hesitates, but Megadorus is insistent; and the eloquence of his plea calls forth the remark from Lyconides or his slave, *ut admemordit hominem!* (fragment 2).

It would be very embarrassing and difficult for Euclio to refuse a dowry, now that his possession of the treasure is publicly known, so he accedes to the plea of Megadorus and gives the pot of gold to Lyconides.¹⁴ Immediately he feels a warm satisfaction both at his own generosity and at being rid of the treasure, and utters the speech which contained fragments 4 and 5:

ego ecfodiebam in die denos scrobes

and

nec noctu nec diu quietus umquam eram; nunc dormiam.

Now the tables are turned. Lyconides' slave mentions that he will need help to get a start in his free life, and Euclio, abetted by Megadorus, persuades Lyconides to give him a handsome gift from the treasure. Indication of this scene is found in fragment 5, spoken probably by the slave.

qui mi holera cruda ponunt, hallec addunt.

Doubtless the play ended with all going into the house of Megadorus (or Euclio) for the long-prepared wedding feast.

Sudden Change of Heart?

Is EUCLIO's change of heart here too sudden? In the *Adelphi* of Terence, Demea also changes from a crabbed frugality to open-handed generosity, and though it is mainly his brother's property which he so freely dispenses, it is obvious that he has learned a lesson which will permanently affect his character. The parallel between Demea and Euclio has often been pointed out, but there is another example in the same play which is in some ways even more striking. Micio, the generous brother, has been a confirmed bachelor, but when at the end Demea and Aeschinus ask that he marry Sostrata, the mother of Aeschinus' bride, he quickly gives in. In the *Aulularia* itself a transformation no less sudden and scarcely less far-reaching in its intended results than that of Euclio is observed in the behavior of Megadorus. At 149 Eunomia says, "volo te uxorem domum ducere." He cannot bear the idea, and says he would rather die than marry (154), but almost in the same breath promises to do so (172). Enk¹⁶ finds this change of mind so sudden as to be impossible, and takes it as a certain indication that a "retractator" has been at work shortening the play.

Euclio, as we have seen, was not an extreme or "typical" miser, one whose ruling passion and only motivating emotion is avarice. The burlesque exaggeration in the scene of the cooks is a part of the conventional machinery of the New Comedy, like the characterization of the extravagance of women by Megadorus in Scene III. 5. The play is a "comedy of character" not simply because it shows some things happening to a miserly man and events being shaped by that unalterable miserliness. There is an interaction here between man and situation, and the play shows how the character of Euclio reacts and develops in the new situation in which he finds himself.

However the play is interpreted, the main plot turns on Euclio's unexpected action at the end. The comic effect comes precisely from the fact that, after all his exaggerated efforts to save his money, he shifts and gives it away—yet under such circumstances and for such reasons that the action does make sense. The element of farce must not be forgotten, to be sure, the enjoyment always to be expected in Plautus from the stage business and even from the exaggerated promptitude of shifts in attitude. The action here, however, is not simply motiveless farce, but a humanly understandable development which would evoke sympathy on the part of the audience. The spectator laughs at the incongruity of guarding and giving; indeed, being a poor man, he laughs at giving away money at all. Yet Euclio has motives which the spectator himself might share, and the change from miserliness to generosity makes easier that identification of spectator and hero which is the property of good comedy as well as tragedy.

It is a mistake to assume, as some of the critics of this play have done, that a "comedy of character" means necessarily a comedy of static character—that the *avarus* must remain *avarus* or forfeit that character entirely. It is the growth of Euclio's character that gives this play its truly serious aspect and makes it a fine example of high comedy.

NOTES

¹ This argument surely goes back beyond the oss of the play's ending. Thomas says it probably belongs to "the period of revival of Plautine studies, 150-50 B.C." (T. Macci Plauti *Aulularia*, ed. E. J. Thomas [Oxford, 1913] notes, p. 1.)

² For example, M. Bonnet, "Smikrinès-Euclion-Harpgon," *Philologie et linguistique: Mélanges offerts à Louis Havet* (Paris, 1909) p. 37: "Ce qui importe, c'est de reconnaître franchement l'incohérence du caractère d'Euclion à partir du troisième acte, et l'in vraisemblance du dénouement; c'est enfin de juger comme il le mérite, et quelque nom qu'il porte, l'auteur responsable de si grosses fautes de psychologie dramatique." P. J. Enk, "De Euclionis Plautini moribus," *Mnemosyne Tert. Ser.* 2 (1935) 281-90, gives a good summary of the modern treatment of the problem. It does not seem necessary here to go into the problem of the Greek original of the play, which has recently been studied exhaustively by W. E. J. Kuiper (*The Greek Aulularia*, Leiden,

Note

THE "ESCAPE" ODE IN HIPPOLYTUS, 732-775

H. F. Graham
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THIS is an amazing Ode in an extraordinary play. Like many Euripidean odes, it has great lyrical beauty; it is also a tiny island, offering a moment's shelter, in a dark sea of tragedy. But beyond these merits, which alone often suffice Euripides, it forms an integral part of the play, necessary for the advancement of the plot.

The ode is most elaborately constructed, falling naturally into four distinct divisions, and yet Euripides' use of certain words has fused them into a total harmony, despite the swift changes and steady progress of the thought. In the same way, in a piece of music, the main theme, in either a major or a minor key, makes subtle reappearances from time to time in the four voices, to achieve unity, no matter how diverse the patterns.

The symbol throughout the first part (732-751) is *δρῦς* (733); the key-word, *πτεροῦσαν*

(733). The second part (752-756), though differing radically from the first in thought, is yet closely related to it in structure. The subject now becomes the *πορθῆις* (753), but a connection between the two parts is to be found in the word *λευκόπτερος* (752), the epithet of the ship. In the third (757-764), and fourth sections (765-end), Phaedra replaces these natural objects as the theme, but she is poetically assimilated, first to the bird (*δύσσορῖς*, 758), that flies (*ἐπτατο*, 759) to Athens, and next to the ship, as, in a striking metaphor, she is rendered *ὑπεραντλος* (769) by her tragedy. Thus even the structure of the ode observes a definite progression.

Considering the ode aesthetically, we find that the first part sweeps us from the earthly sphere. With the "winged bird," we return to the time when, by the banks of Eridanus,

PLEASE TURN THE PAGE

1940 [Mnemosyne, Supp. 2]). Kuiper has little to say about the ending of the *Aulularia*, because he is only interested in reconstructing the Greek model, and believes that the situation at the end of Act IV was widely different in the two plays.

³ P. Lejay, *Plaute* (Paris, 1924) 156 ff.

⁴ Bonnet, *op. cit.*; U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, "Der Landsmann des Menandros," *Neue Jahrb.* 3 (1899) 518; F. Leo, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (Berlin, 1913) I, 119; A. Krieger, *De Aululariae Plautinae exemplari Graeco* (Giessen, 1914).

⁵ For example, in the prologue (9, 22) Euclio's grandfather is *avidus ingenio*, and Euclio himself *pariter moratum*. See also 105-12, and the other passages collected by A. Funck, "De Euclione Plautino," *Rh. M.* 73 (1920-24) 456-65, and G. Jachmann, *Plautinisches und Antistisches* (Berlin, 1931: *Problemata*, Heft 3) 131.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ch. 3.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, 286 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 289.

⁹ Cf. Krieger, *op. cit.*, 87; Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, 518.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, 138.

¹¹ Cf. G. Murray, "Ritual Elements in the New Comedy," *CQ* 37 (1943) 46-54.

¹² There are preserved only 23 lines of Act V Scene 1, and we need not suppose that the play ended for another two or three hundred lines. The first four acts have 79, 285, 300, and 220 lines, respectively. The play as we have it is only 831 lines long, and most of Plautus' are considerably longer than that.

¹³ This of course alludes to Scene III, 5, where Euclio overhears Megadorus inveighing against the extravagance of women. Cf. esp. the verbal echoes of lines 516, 521. Some change in Megadorus' attitude has taken place, because in that scene he argues against taking wives with large dowries. However, "circumstances alter cases," and presumably Lyconides was not so rich in his own right as his uncle.

¹⁴ A dowry need not have included the whole of the treasure, perhaps, and it might have occurred to Euclio to give part of it and then on a generous impulse add the rest. But the pot of gold is generally thought of and spoken of as a unit (except perhaps at 767), and the possibility of dividing it was doubtless not mentioned or considered. Such glossing over of unnecessary complications is often found.

¹⁵ "De Aulularia Plautina," *Mnemosyne* Nov. Ser. 47 (1919) 98 f.

the maidens wept over Phaethon's death; then, soaring aloft to the Hesperides' "apple-bearing strand," we approach the realm where dwells Poseidon, where Atlas supports the world, and where is the palace of Zeus himself. In these magic places, where the earth does but increase the bliss of the gods, seems to lie Happiness—though almost Epicurean. Yet the Chorus would be happy anywhere but where they are; where they could avoid beholding what they know they must behold, but are bound not to divulge.

But they, and we, must descend again to earth, and—more terrible still, as the vessel draws near Athens—to the very place which it is their most ardent wish to avoid. The important word now is *Κρησία* (752), because already, in a passionate outburst, Phaedra has cried that her ill-starred Cretan heritage will cause her own destruction (337). A second explicit reference to Crete (758) leaves no further room for doubt: as a bird, which might have been a good omen, but cannot be, Fate has drawn her to Athens.

A momentary chill comes upon us (we know not why) when we hear the harmless words: ἐκδήσαντο πλεκτάς πεισμάτων ἀρχάς (760-761). If the rush of emotion would allow us an instant to reflect, after hearing the attendant's cry: βοηδρομεῖτε . . . ἐν ἀγχόναῖς δέσποινα, Θησέως δάμαρ (776-777), we should realize that these words were (intentionally) too detailed for the simple expression of the mariners' action, and should rightly see in them a dark hint of the imminent disaster.

At this point, for Euripides and his fellow

σοφοί, the case is both clear and complete. Beneath the veil of poetic imagery, such a man can perceive psychological fact: Phaedra is convinced that a lawless sexual passion (οὐχ ὅσοι ἐρωτες 766-767), which was the mark of her Cretan family, and with which she believes herself to be tainted, has woven about her a web of circumstance that is now forcing her to self-immolation. Euripides knew, however, that his audiences did not consist exclusively of σοφοί, yet he wished everyone to see the climax, the pivot of the play, in all its horror and magnitude. This is an additional reason, besides that already mentioned, for introducing the theme of οὐχ ὅσοι ἐρωτες. Who is the traditional cause of them? Aphrodite!—and with consummate skill, the mention of her name recalls to mind the Prologue, and the Cyprian's prophecy (38 ff.).

This is the final stroke; the climax is attained. The chorus gathers up and tautens all the strings that have been hanging loose, by pronouncing the fatal words: τεράμων ἀπὸ νυμφιδίων κρεμαστὸν ἄψεται ἀμφὶ βρόχον λευκῆ καθαρμύουσα δέῖρα (769-772).

Aphrodite's spite has driven unhappy Phaedra to doom herself to die, in order to preserve her children's good name. Euripides' portrait up to now has enlisted our sympathy entirely on her side; consequently if he had not, by this ode, carefully prepared his audiences for the vocal shock of her suicide, both Aristotle and many others would have found the resultant emotional discord intolerable.

PRESUMPTION REBUKED (Continued from Page 260)

⁷ *Controv.* II, 5; IX, 1.

⁸ *Controv.* II, 3, 4, 6; VI, 7; VII, 6.

⁹ *Decl.* 316, 349, 367.

¹⁰ At least so far as their substance was concerned; the first two actions would not have been so designated by name, for Quintilian (*Inst. Or.* VII, 4, 36) says: *funguntur in scholis et inscripti malefici*, and Bornecque ("Les Declamations et les Declamateurs d'après Sénèque le Père," *Lille Université Travaux et Memoires, Droit et Lettres*, Lille, 1902) lists the scholastic *actio ingrati* as a Greek suit [*δίκη ἀχαριστίας*, of which *actio ingrati* would be a translation]. However, Quintilian elsewhere shows that cases might be argued *sylogismo*, and, when no law specifically covered the issue in dispute, another

analogous to it invoked (VII, 8, 7). In the present instance, one thinks naturally of an accusation of slander and of the penalty assertedly inflicted on Naevius under the XII Tables. The actual charge corresponding to the loosely used *ingrati* could have been *iniuriarum*, which would cover undutiful behavior. Such precision was not necessary, of course, since Cassius did not intend to prosecute; the threat of these actions, even under rubrics not technically admissible in Roman courts, sufficed to terrify the inexperienced Cestius and rendered his consternation more laughable.

¹¹ W. A. Hunter, *A Systematic and Historical Exposition of Roman Law* (London, 1903) 212 and 70.

The background of an error—

Historians to the contrary, British pearls were worthless

Bede and the British Pearl

Wendell Clausen

READERS of the *Ecclesiastical History* should be somewhat surprised to find that the Venerable Bede mentions, in a catalogue of Britain's natural life, mussels "in which are found excellent pearls of all colors, as red, purple, sapphire, green, and especially white."¹ As a matter of fact, rarely either in ancient or modern times have the pearl fisheries of Britain yielded anything that could possibly be considered excellent. Practically all species of the *Aviculidae*, the family of the true pearl oyster, are found in the warmer waters of the globe,² and Britain is never named along with the great pearl fisheries of Panama, Mexico, the South Pacific islands, or the Persian Gulf from which come the most precious Oriental pearls.³ Even among the Romans of the first century A.D. it was common knowledge that the island's pearls were but a negligible source of revenue for the imperial fiscus. The Roman historian Tacitus speaks disdainfully of British pearls as being *subfusca ac liventia*⁴ (not coloris . . . maxime candidi!), and insinuates that they were in no way comparable to pearls gathered from the waters of the Persian Gulf.

Since Bede, then, could hardly have had any personal knowledge of *optima margaritae* taken from the fisheries, this remark is, in all likelihood, based upon a literary source. It is no secret that the first few chapters of the *Ecclesiastical History* are pieced together with excerpts from several writers;⁵ and in this case it is not difficult to ferret out Bede's *locus classicus*. In the *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*⁶ of C. Julius Solinus—a work in Bede's library at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow⁷—appears a passage that seems to imply the

great value of the island's pearls.⁸ Solinus, the only one of Bede's sources who mentions pearls, places British pearls on a par with the almost fabulous ones found in the Persian Gulf,⁹ and relates (what he evidently considered a supporting example) that Julius Caesar had dedicated (a thorax¹⁰ of British pearl) in the temple of Venus Genetrix at Rome. This account of Solinus, as Mommsen notes,¹¹ is taken almost verbatim from Pliny's *Natural History*, 9, 116. The immediate concern, however, of this study is not with the texts themselves, but rather with the historical background for this queer misevaluation which Bede unknowingly retailed in the first chapter of his *Ecclesiastical History*.

Caesar and British Pearls

IT IS SIGNIFICANT that Solinus (and Pliny) mentions Julius Caesar, for seemingly it is to one of Caesar's petty vanities that Bede's error can be traced. When Caesar invaded Britain in the late summer of 55 B.C., and again in 54 B.C., he did so ostensibly to punish the Britons who had been giving aid to the tribes of northern Gaul in their warfare against the Romans, and, also, to make himself acquainted with the inhabitants of the country and any possible harbors or landing-places. At least these are the reasons he sets down in his *Commentaries*.¹² But Suetonius writes that Caesar had hoped to find pearls in Britain; that he was, in fact, drawn to invade the island *spe margaritarum*.¹³

The news of Caesar's first landing in Britain whipped up a wild enthusiasm among the populace at Rome. The Senate decreed a

Judging by Caesar's own account, the expedition to Britain was a "reconnaissance in force." But did he really expect to find rich pearl fisheries? Wendell Clausen, the author of this article, was formerly at the University of Washington in Seattle and is now living in Chicago.

twenty-day thanksgiving,¹⁴ and national pride was fanned into a blaze of patriotic display by the thought that Roman legions had successfully spanned an ocean and penetrated a new world.¹⁵ But when Caesar discovered no rich, inviting territory to be plundered, or a people that would tamely submit to being stripped of their most valued possessions,¹⁶ serious repercussions were felt at Rome. Many of the Patricians, with whom Caesar had never been popular,¹⁷ went beyond mere criticism. At about the time news of the first invasion of Britain reached Rome, Cato of Utica—ever Caesar's implacable foe—was thundering in the Senate against Caesar, demanding that he be handed over to certain German tribes for punishment because of an alleged broken truce.¹⁸ Failing in this and other "legal" attempts to discredit him, the strong faction opposing Caesar—if we are to believe Suetonius that the rumor was current—would certainly not have bypassed the opportunity of at least taunting him with his failure to discover rich pearl fisheries on the island of Britain as he had anticipated. It may very likely have been a desire to silence such a rumor¹⁹ that moved Caesar, who was ever deeply sensitive where his vanity had been wounded, to dedicate the thorax and wish it known specifically that the pearls decorating it were from Britain. The account of Pliny implies that this was his reason:

In Britannia parvos atque decolores nasci certum est, quoniam divus Iulius thoracem quem Veneri Genetrici in templo eius dicavit ex Britannicis margaritis factum voluerit intellegi.²⁰

Almost without exception commentators have taken this passage to mean that the thorax was fashioned of poor pearl;²¹ yet just the opposite would seem to be the case. It is unthinkable that the vain and extravagant world conqueror, fresh from his victories, would have laid himself open to public ridicule by placing an ugly, mean offering on display in the temple of Venus Genetrix, the mythical ancestress of the Julian line. And along with the thorax, Caesar dedicated a number of truly regal gifts in the temple: two famous paintings by Timomachus—the *Ajax* and the *Medea*,²² valued together at eighty

talents,²³ a golden effigy of Cleopatra²⁴ nearby²⁵ the statue of Venus,²⁶ and six dactyliotheas or collections of engraved gems.²⁷ Furthermore, such a view fails to take into account the location and significance of the temple. Caesar had vowed it on the eve of Pharsalus as a thank-offering to Venus, the Bringer of Victory (*Νικηφόρος*), if she would favor his cause in the approaching battle with Pompey.²⁸ It occupied a central position in the grandiose Forum Julium, which, completed, was said to have cost one hundred million sesterces,²⁹ although this may be an exaggerated figure. The temple³⁰ itself was pycnostyle,³¹ or close-columned, in structure and built of marble³² probably overlaid with gold.³³ It was solemnly dedicated during the latter part of September, 46 B.C.,³⁴ amid the pomp and pageantry of the great triumph awarded Caesar on his return from victories in the East.³⁵ A thorax of small and discolored pearls set in the midst of so much splendor would indeed have been an eyesore.

Caesar's Deception

MOREOVER, it would make little sense for Pliny to state that pearls from Britain were worthless, and then cite as an example Caesar's thorax in the temple of Venus Genetrix. Pliny would be proving no point; it was already common knowledge among the Romans of his day that the British pearl fisheries were a thorough failure.³⁶ What Pliny means to say, in paraphrase is: It is certain that the British pearl is worthless, whereas "divus Julius" dedicated a thorax worked of (excellent) pearls to Venus Genetrix and claimed that he had found them in Britain. Pliny subtly implies that Caesar might have fooled the earlier Romans, to whom Britain was *terra incognita*, but that Romans of his own day, who had gained considerable knowledge of the island as a result of its re-conquest under Claudius and the colonizing projects of Nero and Vespasian, realized that the pearls could not possibly have come from Britain.

Pliny's rhetoric lends color to these assumptions. His use of the subjunctive *voluerit* certainly suggests a reportorial doubt. More

significant, however, is the collocation of *intellegi*. The use of the complementary infinitive to close a sentence is not a usual feature of Pliny's style.³⁷ He employs it to two ends—either to give rhetorical smoothness to a period, or to stress a particular thought. In this passage, Pliny would more naturally have written *intellegi* before *voluerit*. Thrown out of place and put in the emphatic end-position, the infinitive seems to stress Caesar's anxiousness to have it *known* that the pearls of the thorax were from Britain. This would have been quite unnecessary had they been ill-shaped or splotchy.

The way in which Solinus (Bede's source) recasts Pliny's account shows how completely he missed the point so subtly implied by Pliny:

Dat et India margaritas, dat et litus Brittanicum:³⁸ sicut divus Iulius thoracem, quem Veneri genetrici in templo eius dicavit, ex Britannicis margaritis subiecta inscriptione intellegi voluit.³⁹

Solinus has introduced three significant changes into Pliny's text. He has changed *quoniam* to *sicut* (= for example), dropped the subjunctive *voluerit* for the indicative *voluit*, and, probably misunderstanding Pliny's placement of *intellegi*, put the infinitive back in what would ordinarily be its normal position. As a result of these "improvements," the passage in Solinus means something other than what it does in Pliny! Whether or not there was an inscription (*subiecta inscriptione*) on the base of the thorax is difficult to say.⁴⁰ Had there been one, it would seem that Pliny might have made a reference to it, unless the inscription was added later. In any event, little reliance can be placed upon the accuracy of Solinus' statement, even though he could have examined the thorax, for most of his additions to Pliny have been shown to be quite worthless.⁴¹

Solinus' Interpretation

STILL, there are several considerations (besides his usual ridiculous carelessness⁴²) that may have influenced Solinus to interpret the passage as he did. It is quite certain that Solinus did not draw his *Collectanea* directly from Pliny's *Natural History*. Sometime dur-

ing the reign of Hadrian the *Natural History* was epitomized by an unknown writer and enlarged from other sources.⁴³ Among the authors incorporated into the now lost *chorographia Pliniana*, which Solinus used, was Pomponius Mela,⁴⁴ the geographer, who flourished probably in the reign of Claudius. Mela, inspired by the re-conquest⁴⁵ of Britain to include a brief summary of the island in his *De Situ Orbis*, describes the rivers and streams flowing through it as *gemmas margaritasque generantia*.⁴⁶ Although Mela says nothing of the value of these *margaritae*, his statement is at least partially correct. Even today a few seed-pearls are gathered in the streams of Wales.⁴⁷ It is, of course, impossible to say definitely whether or not this remark of Mela's was included in the *chorographia Pliniana*. Perhaps it was not, although Solinus frequently borrows from Mela without ever mentioning his name.

Suetonius' Evidence

A MUCH MORE tangible influence upon Solinus would have been the writings of the Roman cabinet historian, Suetonius. Suetonius, who had certainly seen the thorax,⁴⁸ speaks of Caesar's being drawn to invade Britain *spe margaritarum*, and writes with pleasant fiction that Caesar found pearls there *quarum amplitudinem conferentem interdum sua manu exegisse pondus*.⁴⁹ It is believed with reason that Solinus was familiar with the writings of Suetonius.⁵⁰ If this is true, it is possible to exculpate him to some extent. Having seen the pearl thorax, and having read Suetonius, a fellow Roman historian, Solinus would be naturally inclined to write what seemed most obvious. But if the pearls of the thorax were discolored and worthless, as commonly believed, it is difficult to account for the extravagant statements of Suetonius. Suetonius may have been personally acquainted with Tacitus;⁵¹ certainly he had read his works,⁵² and Tacitus was under no illusions as to the value of the British pearl.⁵³ The beautiful pearls of the thorax in the temple of Venus Genetrix would be an altogether likely basis for the extravagant remarks of Suetonius.

In any event, the Venerable Bede's mistaken evaluation of the British pearl can be traced ultimately to Julius Caesar's ambitious invasion of the island almost seven centuries before. There is no reason to suspect Bede's good faith in taking the account of Solinus for fact. Perhaps he was somewhat naive but far less so than most of his contemporaries. Having no knowledge of Bk. 9 of Pliny's *Natural History*,⁵⁴ Bede could not possibly have detected the discrepancy from the original in Solinus. Where Bede learned that the pearl was vari-colored is difficult to say. Today, in the rivers, lakes, and streams of the North American continent are found freshwater pearls of all shades of the rainbow—"sky blue, peacock green, lavender, ruby, maroon, cherry, salmon, rose, bronze, purple, pink, gold, wine, gray, green, silver, black, bright yellow, red, blue, lead and brown."⁵⁵ It is quite likely that the British pearls of Bede's day were of the five tints he mentions. But this much, at least, is known for certain: the average British pearl has never been *optima* except in the books of the historians.

NOTES

¹ Hist. Eccl., I, 1: "... musculae, quibus inclusam saepe margaritam, omnis quidem coloris optimam inveniunt, id est, et rubicundi, et purpurei, et iacintini et prasinii, sed maxime candidi." The text is that of Plummer (Oxford, 1896). Textual variants are *margaretam* for *margaritam* and the omission of *coloris* by one ms. (M¹).

² The *Riverside Natural History*, ed. J. S. Kingsley, 1888, I, 263.

³ *Idem*.

⁴ *Agricola*, 12, 6. Tacitus would have been in a position to know, since his father-in-law, G. Julius Agricola, was perhaps Britain's most illustrious governor.

⁵ Notably Pliny, *N.H.*, Solinus, Gildas, and Orosius.

⁶ Bede would probably have known the work as the *Polyhistor*, for it was revised and so renamed in the sixth century; cf. Teuffel and Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature*, tr. G. C. W. Warr (London, 1892) 2, 292 (389, 1).

⁷ M. L. W. Laistner, "The Library of the Venerable Bede," *Bede, His Life, Times, and Writings: Essays in Commemoration of the Twelfth Century of his Death* ed. A. H. Thompson (Oxford, 1935) 226.

⁸ *Col. Rer. Mem.*, 53, 28. Cf. note 39 *infra*.

⁹ Cf. note 38 *infra*.

¹⁰ For a description of a thorax, see Harper's *Classical Dictionary*, s.v. "Thorax."

¹¹ In his edition of Solinus, Berlin, 1895, ad loc., margin.

¹² *Bell. Gall.*, 4, 20.

¹³ *Caesar*, 47.

¹⁴ *Bell. Gall.*, 4, 38.

¹⁵ Dio Cassius, 39, 53. But there still remained the opposition who deprecated the magnitude of the whole invasion and claimed that Caesar had only crossed a pond, not an ocean (cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 2, 571-572).

¹⁶ Dio Cassius (*loc. cit.*) explicitly states that Caesar gained nothing from Britain for himself or for the state except the glory (*δόξα*) of having conducted an expedition against the island.

¹⁷ Presumably because he had not favored the senatorial class during his consulate in 59 B.C. (Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, 2, 25).

¹⁸ Plutarch, *Cato the Younger*, 51. Cf. also Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* 4, 12-15; Plutarch, *Caesar*, 58.

¹⁹ There is evidence of another whisper campaign against Caesar from a letter of M. Caelius Rufus to Cicero in June, 51 B.C., when it was openly rumored at Rome that Caesar had been routed by the Bellovaci (*Ad Fam.*, 8, 1, 4).

²⁰ *N.H.*, 9, 116. The text is that of Mayhoff (Teubner, 1875). There are no textual variants for this passage.

²¹ Cf. e.g., the deliberately (?) ambiguous translation in the Loeb Classical Library.

²² Pliny, 7, 126.

²³ *Idem*.

²⁴ Dio Cassius, 51, 22, 3: καὶ ἀντὶ [sc. the effigy] ἐν τῷ Ἀφροδίτῳ χρυσῇ ὁρᾶται.

²⁵ Appian, 2, 120: Κλεοπάτρας τε εἰκόνα καλὴν τῇ Θεῷ παρεστήσατο.

²⁶ The Venus Genetrix sculptured by Arceila, which Caesar set up in *foro Caesaris* (Pliny, 35, 156), was probably in the cella of the temple.

²⁷ Pliny, 37, 11.

²⁸ Appian, 2, 68-69; cf. also 2, 102.

²⁹ Pliny, 36, 103; Suetonius, *Caesar*, 26.

³⁰ *Aedes*, Livy, Pliny, Suetonius, Vitruvius; *templum*, Ovid, Pliny, Tacitus; *νέος*, Appian, Dio Cassius; *Ἀφροδίτειον*, Dio Cassius.

³¹ Vitruvius, 3, 3.

³² Ovid, *A. A.*, 1, 81.

³³ *Ibid.*, 3, 451.

³⁴ Dio Cassius, 43, 22, 2.

³⁵ Pliny likely suspected that Caesar had got the pearl thorax while in Alexandria, which was widely known as the gateway to the celebrated pearl fisheries of the Persian Gulf. Pliny speaks (9, 113) of the size and brilliance of pearls from these fisheries and discusses (9, 123) Fenestella's statement that they became common in Rome after the fall of Alexandria in 47 B.C. Caesar himself had taken Alexandria, and it may have been during the triumph awarded to him for that and other victories in the East that he dedicated the pearl thorax in the temple of Venus Genetrix. Pompey set the fashion of a lavish display of pearls with his triumph in 61; see M. Deutsch, "Caesar and the Pearls of Britain," *CJ* 19 (1923-24) 503 f.

³⁶ Cf. Tacitus, *Agricola*, 12, 6. Tacitus was describing

—Note

"THE CHILDHOOD SHOWS THE MAN"

COMMENTS on this line of Milton (*Paradise Regained* 4, 220) have been limited for the most part to citing the parallel, "The child is father of the man," in Wordsworth's poem, "My Heart Leaps Up." It should be pointed out further that in Milton's line there is clearly an echo of the Greek proverb *arche andra deiknusi*. This expression was a commonplace before the time of Aristotle (cf. *Nichomachean Ethics* 5, 1, 16), but it survives only in the restricted political meaning "Office shows the man" (i.e., a man's true worth is evident when he assumes the responsibility of public office). It is very possible, however, that at the time the phrase was coined no such restriction or application was intended. No poignancy is lost when *arche* is used in its original meaning of

"beginning," as, for example, one finds it in the equally ancient proverb *arche de toi hemisu pantos*, "the beginning is half the whole" or "well begun is half done." Applying "beginning" to a man's life one will readily render the word as "childhood," and Milton's line is thus a literal translation, possibly a conscious one, in a passage which deals in part with the heritage of Greek philosophy. Regardless of whether or not the original proverb was solely political in sentiment, Milton probably retained the original Greek words in his memory and in his poem aptly employed them independent of such a significance.

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the times of C. Julius Agricola, who became governor of Britain in 78 B.C., one year before Pliny's death in the eruption of Vesuvius.

³⁷ According to Mayhoff's punctuation, there are some 661 sentences in Bk. ix of the *Natural History*, not counting the direct quotations from Trebrian Niger (one sentence, 93) and Cornelius Nepos (three sentences, 137). Of this number only six (besides the sentence quoted, 116) close with complementary infinitives. In two of these sentences (92, 100) the idea contained in the infinitive seems to be emphasized; in the other four (23, 147, 166, 181) the collocation seems more a matter of style. In only one case (92) is the concluding complementary infinitive juxtaposed with the verb upon which it depends (as in the sentence quoted, 116), though this is quite frequent when the complementary infinitive precedes the verb (e.g., 18, 119, 154, 172, 181, 182).

³⁸ That Solinus places the British and Indian pearl fisheries on a par might have misled Bede, for pearls from the Indian Ocean fisheries were of an almost fabulous value.

³⁹ *Coll. Rer. Mem.*, 53. 28. The text is that of Mommsen (Berlin, 1895). The textual variants are unimportant.

⁴⁰ If it could be reasonably maintained that there actually was an inscription, such information would be valuable in placing the dates for Solinus' life. The temple of Venus Genetrix was destroyed by fire in 283 A.D., and restored by Diocletian (cf. Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. 2 [Berlin, 1892] 9. 148).

⁴¹ Cf. Mommsen, ed. cit., p. ix.

⁴² Cf. e.g., Schanz-Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* München, 1927, 3. 225 (636): "Mangelnde Uebergänge sind nicht selten; vor Mitzverständnissen und lächerlichen Mitzgriffen ist er nicht sicher. Aus der Notiz der Plinius 4, 67, Paros cum oppido ab Delo xxxviii mil. marmore nobilis machte er gedankenlos c. 11, 26, marmore Paros nobilis Abdelos oppido frequentissima, und schuf so eine neue Stadt Abdelos."

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 226 (636). Cf. also Mommsen, ed. cit., pp. xv seq.

⁴⁴ Teuffel und Schwabe, op. cit., 2. 293 (389, 4).

⁴⁵ There is some doubt whether this was the abortive attempt of Caligula (40 A.D.) or the actual reconquest under Claudius (44 A.D.); cf. Teuffel und Schwabe, op. cit., 2. 64 (296, 1).

⁴⁶ *De Sit. Orb.*, 3. 6. 51. It is interesting to note that Pliny does not quote Mela as a source for Bk. ix of the *Natural History*.

⁴⁷ *The Cambridge Natural History*, eds. S. F. Harmon and A. E. Shipley, 1920-22, 3. 101.

⁴⁸ He mentions the temple of Venus Genetrix in his life of Caesar, 78.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁵⁰ Schanz-Hosius, op. cit., 3. 225 (636).

⁵¹ Cf. Alcide Macé, *Essai sur Suétone*, Paris, 1900, 80 ff.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 206.

⁵³ Cf. note 4 *supra*.

⁵⁴ Cf. M. L. W. Laistner, op. cit., 265.

⁵⁵ Herbert H. Ventrees, *Pearls and Pearling* (New York, 1913) 18.

"Treasure Trove" in Britain

T. C. Lethbridge
Cambridge University

IN THE LAST six years two great finds of ancient treasure in Britain have drawn public attention to the question of national and private rights in such matters. Both discoveries were made in East Anglia, in the county of Suffolk. A great Anglo-Saxon galley was excavated at Sutton Hoo, on the Deben Estuary. Amidships in the burial chamber lay a mass of weapons, gold personal ornaments

and silver dishes. In 1946 it became known that a great hoard of fourth-century Roman silver, now known as the Mildenhall Treasure, had been discovered in 1942 at West Row village, near the town of Mildenhall.

The Coroner's Inquest

ENGLAND's law is that when finds of gold or silver are made the local coroner must be informed. He must hold an inquest on the nature of the discovery, in much the same way as he must hold an inquiry into the nature of a death of a human being which has occurred in unusual circumstances. Any per-

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 284



FIGURE 1. ONE OF THE HANDSOMEST PIECES IN THE MILDENHALL TREASURE IS THIS DECORATED SILVER BOWL, AND ITS STILL MORE DECORATED COVER SURMOUNTED WITH A SMALL FIGURE HOLDING OUT A CORNUCOPIA. N. Y. TIMES PHOTO.

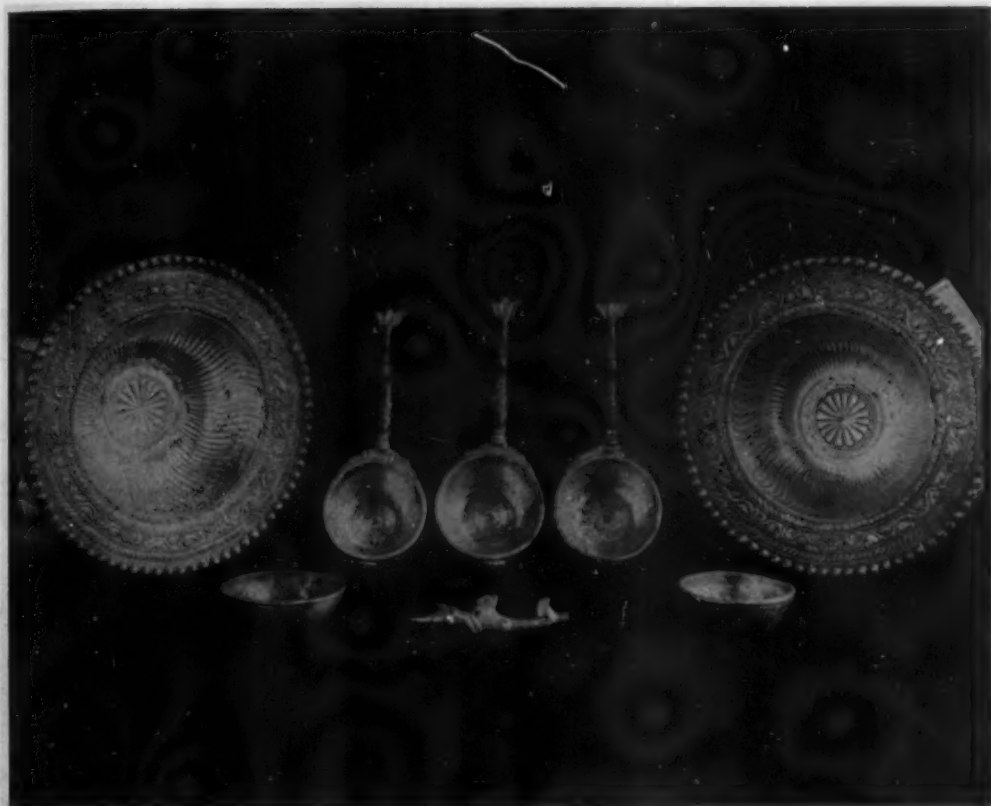


FIGURE 2. MORE OF THE MILDENHALL TREASURE: A PAIR OF FINE FLUTED BOWLS, TWO SMALL BOWLS, THREE LADLES OR LARGE SPOONS WITH DOLPHIN HANDLES, AND A DETACHED HANDLE, ALL IN FINE SILVER. N. Y. TIMES PHOTO.

MR. GORDON BUTCHER is a farmer of Mildenhall, Suffolk, England. In 1942 Mr. Butcher, while plowing a field at West Row for his employer, Mr. Sidney Ford, turned up a large metal tray, exquisitely worked in relief. Further and more cautious investigation with a spade resulted in their finding thirty-three other pieces. The metal proved to be, not pewter or lead, as Mr. Ford first thought, but silver, Roman silver of the fourth century A.D., the finest discovery of its kind yet made in Britain. The place of discovery, in a shallow trench at the edge of the fens, indicates that they were concealed in time of civil disorder by someone who intended to, but never did, return to claim them—a grim sequence which has resulted in

some of our happiest archaeological accessions. Since some of the pieces bear Christian symbols, Mr. Lethbridge prefers to refer them to the time of Constantine, who made it safe to acknowledge Christianity, or later; the burial, in fact, he associates with the disasters of A.D. 365-367.

The existence of this hoard became known to the authorities last summer, and it has been claimed for the Crown. Pending their definitive publication, the four photographs here reproduced by courtesy of THE NEW YORK TIMES, which holds the American copyright, will serve to show the character of typical specimens as well as to illustrate Mr. Lethbridge's adjacent article on treasure trove.

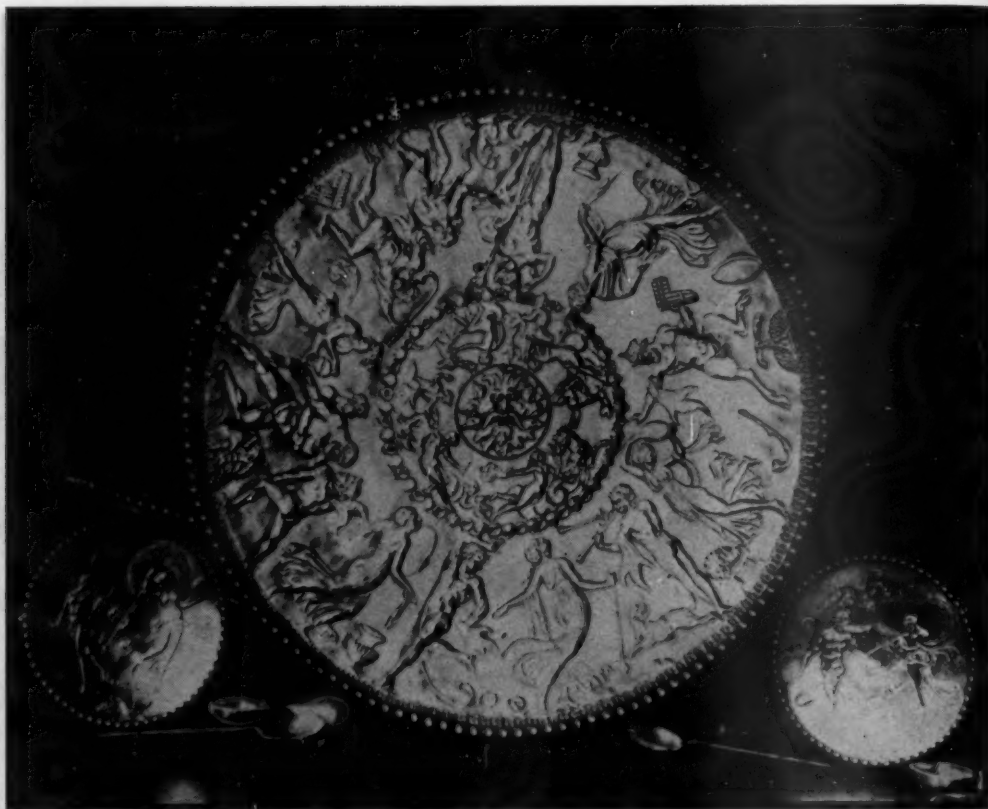


FIGURE 3. THE OCEANUS TRAY FROM MILDENHALL. IN THE CENTER IS THE HEAD OF OCEANUS, WITH DOLPHINS IN HIS BEARD. ENCIRCLING HIM IS A BAND OF SEA NYMPHS AND MONSTERS. IN THE OUTER CIRCLE ARE LARGER FIGURES: BACCHUS WITH A PANTHER AT HIS FEET; A DRUNKEN HERCULES SUPPORTED BY TWO SATYRS; PAN AND MAENADS, AND OTHER SATYRS. IT WAS THIS TRAY, OVER TWO FEET IN DIAMETER, WHICH FOULED THE PLOWSHARE AND THUS BROUGHT ABOUT THE DISCOVERY. TO LEFT AND RIGHT, A PAIR OF SHALLOW DISHES WITH CLASSICAL SCENES IN REPOUSSÉ, AND SPOONS. N. Y. TIMES PHOTO.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 282

son who wilfully conceals the discovery of a treasure, or the knowledge of such a discovery, is breaking the law. The coroner has to determine:

Whether the find is treasure, that is, whether it is gold or silver; whether it was concealed by someone who intended to return for it; whether the owner is known; who found it and whether any attempt was made to conceal the find.

The second point may be a matter of considerable difficulty. In the case of the Sutton Hoo ship it was clear that, whether any actual human being had been buried in the

vessel or not, it was a case of ship burial, such as is known to have been widely practised in the Dark Ages. In all the lands of western Europe where the pagan Vikings made their settlements ship burial was practised. It is well established, both in the Saga writings and by actual finds of ships.

Ships and boats have been discovered, covered by mounds and filled with funeral gifts, in Norway, Sweden, Scotland, and the Isle of Man. Anglo-Saxon boats had already been found in burial mounds at Snape Common in Suffolk, and at Sutton Hoo itself. It was clear that this was not a case of a person concealing a treasure for which he intended to



FIGURE 4. TWO WINE GOBLETs IN HEAVY SILVER, FROM MILDENHALL. COMPARABLE EARLIER FINDS AT COLERAINE, LONDONDERRY, ON THE NORTHERN COAST OF IRELAND, AND AT TRAPRAIN LAW, HADDINGTONSHIRE, ON THE FIRTH OF FORTH, HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED THE LOOT OF RAIDS ON GAUL BY PICTS OR SCOTS; THE MILDENHALL FIND, CLEARLY THE HOUSEHOLD PLATE OF A PROSPEROUS ROMANO-BRITISH FARMER, COMPLETES THE IMPRESSION OF LUXURY IN ROMAN BRITAIN FURNISHED BY THE ELABORATE VILLA MOSAICS AND THE PRETENTIOUS BATHS AND HYPOCAUSTS; IT ALSO SUGGESTS THAT THE COLERAINE AND TRAPRAIN HOARDS MAY HAVE BEEN LOOT FROM BRITAIN RATHER THAN GAUL.—N. Y. TIMES PHOTO.

return: it was concealed for use in the next world. The coroner had therefore to declare that it was not "treasure trove."

By English law, the Sutton Hoo treasure belonged to the owner of the land on which it was found. In this case the owner did not hesitate and handed the treasure over intact into the keeping of the nation. Had the owner been less public spirited the Sutton Hoo treasure could have been dispersed.

Fourth-Century Silver

THE MILDENHALL TREASURE had been

buried in the ground, but, from the evidence, it was clear that it had not accompanied a burial. It was clear also from comparison with other finds that the silver dated from the latter part of the fourth century A.D. Many other hoards of table plate of this period have been found in Eastern England. All round the margins of the East Anglian Fens (marshes), and in the Fens themselves, finds of this kind are discovered. The treasures, usually made of pewter, were evidently concealed in time of trouble.

These finds are often made in the vicinity

of the sites of Roman-British houses. The Mildenhall Treasure came close to such a house, which had been already excavated and proved to be a small two-roomed cottage. The treasure could not have been accidentally lost in the morass of the Fens, for the land on which it was found had never been covered by the peat. It was upland with chalk rock beneath.

History is not silent as to the reason for the concealment of valuables in the later half of the fourth century. Disastrous wars, starting on a large scale with an invasion of Pict, Scot and Saxon barbarians in A.D. 365-367, finally wrecked the province of Roman Britain. The southern part of eastern England became settled by Anglo-Saxon peasant farmers in the years which followed. This explains both why the treasures were concealed and also why their owners never recovered them. They died in battle, or were murdered by the invaders.

The third point was easy to solve. The owner was not known. There were names, such as Papittedo and Pascentia, engraved on some of the silver, but no one had the slightest idea who they may have been.

Finder's Recompense

IT WAS EASY to say who found the treasure. This point is important, for it is now the custom of England to recompense the finder with the estimated market value of the find itself. The find becomes the property of the State, but the finder is rewarded most liberally for his discovery. In this case the market value is difficult to estimate, but it must approach

thousands of pounds sterling.

With the final point, however, there was a difficulty, which would no doubt affect this question of payment to the finder. In the old days of medieval England anyone who concealed a treasure which he had found was regarded as a traitor. "Concealment of treasure trove" said the law, "is akin to treason." Had the finders of the Mildenhall Treasure concealed their find? They had found it in 1942 and it was not declared till 1946.

We have already mentioned that discoveries of table plate are quite common around the margins of the Fens. Not many years ago a set of pewter dishes and bowls had been found in an old course of a fen river, near West Row in Isleham Fen. Another larger set had been found at Icklingham. The finders of the Mildenhall Treasure were asked by the coroner what they thought the metal was which they had discovered. One replied that he thought it was pewter or lead. The other said he believed it to have been pewter, because such things were often found in the neighborhood. The coroner's jury decided that there had been no attempt of concealment.

The question of "treasure trove" concerns archaeologists, for if a treasure is found it is the actual man who first discovers it who is legally the finder. In an excavation it is the workman who digs up the hoard of coins who is the finder and not the archaeologist who sets him to work. This has been put to the test of law in the case of a find of treasure made during an official excavation of a Roman site in Northumberland.

THE CYCLOPS AT BOWDOIN

During twenty-five years of service at Bowdoin College, Professor Thomas Means has encouraged interest in the drama and the Classics through the production of four plays from Greek and five from Latin literature. In recognition of this signal service, the Masque and Gown of Bowdoin dedicated its forty-fourth season to Professor Means, and in joint effort with the Classical Club produced the Cyclops of Euripides on December 20, 1946. The translation of Percy Bysshe Shelley was used, and special musical settings were composed by Maxine Dane. So far as is known, this was one of the earliest productions of the Cyclops in America. A satyric play, it combines elements of tragedy and comedy, and is based on the well-known episode in the Odyssey.

Whatever "General Education" is, we have it—
Where do Latin and Greek fit in?

General Education and the Study of Classical Languages

Mark E. Hutchinson

DURING the past five or six years, the term General Education has been kicked around the campuses of American high schools and colleges with such fanatical zeal and such clever technique that sometimes one wonders if it has not been kicked clean off the campus or perhaps been lost behind a mass of verbiage in some university club or high school cafeteria. We have been deluged with a flood of new plans for General Education in which a weak man might easily drown in a semantic whirlpool. However, no man in these days would dare say that he did not believe in general education, or at least in his own special brand of that commodity.

IT WOULD SEEM to me that we have general education on our hands, whether we want it or not, if we mean by that term the wide-spread desire for formal education by almost all young people and the necessity of providing minors with free public education. As is pointed out in the Harvard Report on *General Education in a Free Society*, not only did the enrollment of high schools increase about ninety-fold between 1870 and 1940 (while the general population increased only three-fold) but also, to quote: "Unlike the old high school in which no one was compelled to stay if he could not or did not wish to do the work, the modern high school must find a place for every kind of student, whatever his hopes and talents. We are stating the simple fact that, in an industrial age, no alternative exists to the wide-spread employment of minors (or, much more likely, the wide-spread unemployment) except some concept of schooling which recognizes and meets the vast actual difference among students."¹ Now the Oxford Dictionary defines *general* as follows: "completely or approximately universal, including or affecting all or nearly all parts, not partial, particular, local, or sectional." While even in the 1940's one boy or girl in six fails to reach high school and half of these do not graduate, our secondary education is rapidly becoming "approximately universal." Surely this is or soon will be general

education, so far as the presence of American youth in school is concerned.

I am well aware that scarcely any one will deny that we have this general or "approximately universal" education, but that many will argue, some with considerable heat, concerning the kind of "general education" these young Americans should have and the means by which it can be brought about. Furthermore, it must be granted that general education is more than book knowledge or acquiring a stock of information. This great mass of boys and girls by their experience in school should be much better equipped to live intelligently and happily in the modern world. While formal schooling is only one of the influences which mold youth, and the school cannot be expected to take the place of the home, the church and "Main Street," a vital education must strive more vigorously than ever before to train the whole man to attain his ultimate possibilities. Havighurst is right when he says: "I believe that we must accept the fact that secondary education in this country is education for practically everybody and that one of its major purposes is to promote social cohesion. Through education, we attempt to remove, as far as possible, the social inequalities which give some people more opportunity than others to achieve power and place. But a parallel and equally important task is to develop in our people a

common store of values and practices which are independent of social status and help to hold our society together."² To use a hackneyed expression, "education for the good life" should be the aim of the instruction in our schools and colleges.

The Harvard Report rightly insists that General Education should aim at four abilities (1) effective thinking (2) communication (3) the making of relevant judgments and (4) the discrimination of values.³ It is obvious that four years in a high school will no more insure effective thinking, intelligent communication, sound judgment and discrimination than will three score years and ten of life in this imperfect world. In other words, our general education, be it good, bad or indifferent, will not end as long as we breathe the breath of life, and perhaps not even then.

General Education is a Fact

IT WOULD seem, therefore, that general education is not a theory but a fact and a very sobering fact. What sort of an education should American youth have? Can there be a common education for all these boys and girls who vary so much in ability, background and interests? As the Harvard Report asks, "How can general education be so adapted to different ages and above all differing abilities and outlooks, that it can appeal directly to each and yet remain in goal and essential teaching the same for all?"⁴ Before attempting to set down my own pet scheme of general education, I must face the fact that there are those who feel that any real general education is either impossible or dangerous. To quote Professor Havighurst again: "There appear to be two groups of people who would disagree with a social policy of sending all boys and girls through secondary school. One group distrusts popular education as productive of social unrest and tending to upset the status quo. These people would restrict secondary education to a small group of young people who are destined for higher social and economic positions. The second group believes in secondary education for all only on one condition; that it become radically different from conventional second-

ary education. They believe that the typical high school is too "bookish."⁵

In my opinion, there is no place in a democracy for an education which would consciously educate a chosen few for leadership and let the vast majority be satisfied to do the dirty work of the world. We can no longer be satisfied with an aristocratic education. Havighurst's second group, however, represents the point of view of many intelligent educators and laymen of modern America. They feel that the conventional high school is not meeting the challenge of a truly general education; it is on this battle ground that the Progressives, the Essentialists, the Great Books people, the Experimentalists, etc., etc., have been waging a mighty War of Words during the past few years. Sometimes I feel that most of the fighting has been carried on in the General Headquarters of the various educational armies rather than in the front line trenches of the class rooms. Be that as it may, we should attempt to find out "what all the shootin' is about."

Criticisms of High School

THE MORE important and frequent criticisms of the conventional high school are somewhat as follows: **FIRST:** Much of the content which makes up the ordinary program of school subjects is organized in the logic of the subject as it appears to the expert in the field rather than organized according to the best principles of the psychology of learning. **SECOND:** The typical high school is more interested in learning lessons in books than in preparing the student to meet the issues of contemporary life. **THIRD:** There is not enough student activity and too much parrot-like handing back of predigested information. **FOURTH:** Not enough attention is being paid to the development of desirable attitudes, habits and ideals. The instruction is too formal and often the teacher's and students' prime interest seems to be to get through the course and have a grade recorded in the registrar's office. **FIFTH:** There is little or no democracy in the administration and teaching in the average high school. The student is told what to do and has almost no opportu-

nity to help shape the policies of the school as a whole or of the individual class room. **SIXTH** Many high schools are providing specialized rather than general education. **SEVENTH:** There is too much cut-throat competition between the various subjects and very little integration or team-work. **EIGHTH:** A very vocal minority would discard the whole content of racial experience and would use only or mainly the present experiences of children in the modern high school. **NINTH:** Some high schools are attempting to train the best students for leadership while they forget that all the students should have an education for efficient living. **TENTH:** "There has been a growing opposition to all subject matter that could not demonstrably function in solving the immediate social problems with which the communities were confronted."⁶ Most of these criticisms are quite valid, and they must be taken into consideration in any realistic discussion of general education and the part that the study of classical languages should play in the efficient high school.

Present Experiences Only?

IF YOU EXAMINE these ten criticisms of the traditional high school, you will find all of them except one are concerned mainly with faulty organization of material, the disregard of the laws of learning, lack of integration, other-worldly teaching and too much specialization. I have no quarrel with criticisms of this type. In fact, I agree with them in the main, for our teaching is very often too bookish, psychologically unsound, undemocratic, too teacher-centered, too departmentalized and too aristocratic. I agree heartily with the thesis that "all subject matter must have a demonstrable function in solving the immediate social problems with which the communities are confronted." Normal DeWitt is dead right when he says in the October (1946) issue of *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, "General education must fill the needs of American society and fit into the contemporary cultural context required by all truly great educational systems. . . . we must go to the sources in our curricular planning—the United States of America today—and exam-

ine its culture, which is one of unexampled richness and variety. The problem of the curriculum committee is to see how the student may best be enabled to participate in that culture and to understand the nature of his participation, both as a citizen-general and a specialist."⁷ After I have said all this, however, I wish to go on record as opposing with all the vigor at my command the proposition (as given in the eighth criticism) that the whole content of racial experiences should be discarded and that the present experiences of the children in the high school should set the tone of the curriculum.

Can "Felt Needs" Be Felt?

IN MY OPINION, the battle for a place for foreign languages in general education must be waged against the premise that a general education must be built around the "felt needs" of the students. As I have said elsewhere, "I think the aims of this school of educational thought are very well expressed in the following statement: 'The development of a curriculum that more adequately interprets contemporary life—a program that will satisfy the individual and social needs of American life—a change away from foreign languages and abstract mathematics and towards the social sciences, the fine and practical arts and vocational education—a preparation for useful self-sustaining membership in society is the new task of the high school'. "⁸

Now, I have no objection to an education built on the needs of the student (felt or otherwise), if these needs are fundamental and are not based on student whims and on the cult of presentism, as Hutchins calls it. Unfortunately, many of the high priests of this cult of "individual and social needs" would dismiss the study of foreign languages as having little to do with preparation for living in contemporary America. This "cult of presentism" is too much with us, and if carried too far, will make our so-called "general education" so general that those who are exposed to it will have no bases on which to make judgments nor intelligent language with which to express their thoughts, if any. "Intelligent living in con-

temporary America" cannot be attained by mere windy and doctrinaire discussion of the contemporary scene. As Professor Buswell says: "On the one hand there are critics who would discard the whole content of racial experience and would use for purposes of education only the present experience of children, whereas other critics would keep much of the content but would make no attempt to organize it, letting the sequence of material be determined by the interest of the children and the incidental experiences of school life. Although both groups have attracted considerable following, the escape from dealing in some effective fashion with the essentials of racial experience can at best be only temporary. Racial experience cannot be lightly dismissed."⁹

Historical Perspective

I CAN understand why an intelligent parent or teacher would wish the students to be thoroughly aware of the contemporary scene, but I cannot fathom the dark recesses of the mind of an individual who would dismiss the study of languages as having no value in understanding the present and planning for the future. Such a person with his magic wand not only waves away language, which is the sinew of our thinking, but destroys the experience of the ages which is recorded in man-written words. I am reminded of Edgar Bergen's rebuke to Mortimer Snerd, "How can you be so stupid!" As Theodore Green well says: "The very fact that most high school students do not continue their formal education beyond this stage (high school) obliges us to go as far as we can in developing the enlightenment that will make them 'free.' In such an education historical perspective is the essential guide to the significance of contemporary phenomena, and a richly developed language experience should help to keep our more able youth from being misled by the malicious verbalizing that cause so much error, waste and damage in our society."¹⁰

The theory of establishing the curriculum on the "needs" of the students sounds well, but it does work not so well in practice. Dr.

B. H. Bode, who accepts some of the tenets of the progressive educators points out the fallacies of this theory, when he says: "It is high time to realize that examining a youngster to ascertain his needs is different from examining him, say, for adenoids. Shall we say, for example, that a student with a prominent talent for business needs a commercial course, plus perhaps a sympathetic acquaintance with our tradition of rugged individualism or a comprehension of the evils inherent in a system of free competition, or a realizing sense that the love of money is the root of all evil? The answer will not be revealed by any educational microscope. Yet, something like this seems to be assumed whenever curriculum making is centered so largely on intensive studies of pupils needs."¹¹

Along with this tendency towards presentism in modern education has also come a sort of "soft pedagogy." I am not quite sure which is cause and which is effect, but I am inclined to think that some of this impatience with history, foreign languages and mathematics is based on the fact that these subjects require some intellectual perspiration rather than on any overweening desire to solve the problems of modern America. To quote the late W. C. Bagley: "But the important fact is that there has been a growing practice of discouraging even competent learners from undertaking the studies that are exact though exacting: hence the upward expansion of mass education, while sincerely a democratic movement is not guarding itself against the potentially most fatal pitfall of democracy. It has deliberately adopted the easy policy of leveling-down rather than facing resolutely the difficult task of leveling-up, and upon the process of leveling-up the future of democracy inevitably depends."¹²

No Thought Without Words

BUT ALREADY too much time has been spent in trying to capture our elusive "football," general education. What part can Latin and Greek play in the general education of the modern high school student? What shall we do with the core curriculum, to use an over-worked term? As you know, there has been

a growing tendency to cut down on electives both in high school and college and to determine certain areas of knowledge with which every student should have at least a speaking acquaintance. The three areas of learning are the natural sciences, the social studies and the humanities. It is beyond the province of this paper to discuss whether these disciplines should be organized into traditional departmental or divisional units, orientation or survey courses, or what not. It is enough to say that these three areas of learning along with the ability to express oneself so as to be understood should comprise the stuff of which general education is made. The Harvard Report tells us that "the three phases of effective thinking, logical, relational and imaginative, correspond roughly to the three divisions of learning, the natural sciences, the social studies and the humanities respectively."¹³ But (and here is where the study of foreign languages enters) one cannot think effectively without words. Michael West was right when he said, "Language is the stuff of which ourselves are made: it is the most important of all formative influences in molding not only the intellect, but the character also . . . the unity and well-being of any people depend above all upon the efficiency of communication. How can a people develop a unified and healthy national life if their thoughts are falsified at the source by the inaptness of the words used in thinking them, and falsified yet once more by the receiver's ignorance of the words in which they are expressed."¹⁴

I think, then, that a general education should strive to introduce the boy and girl to these three areas, concerning which, if in some way his love of learning can be aroused, he will increase his knowledge throughout his life. Furthermore, at the core of this core will be language without which he can neither talk, think or read. Our problem, it would seem to me, is to decide just how valuable the study of foreign language is for attaining this art of communication without which there can be no education or civilized society. The Harvard Report is correct in stating: "The main problem, then, in teaching foreign languages seems to be this: how may many, per-

haps most, be brought to take what we have called the Copernican step—the step, that is, of realization that structure is the skeleton of all speech, not just their own, and that words carry history with them? And how, in addition, may the comparatively few who can and should go further press on to a firm and fruitful grasp of language."¹⁵

Latin for English

I AM INCLINED to agree with the Harvard Report when it states that for the majority of students in the high school the study of a foreign language must justify its position in their general education on the grounds of its great importance for English vocabulary and syntax. If the student can find time for only one foreign language, this language should be Latin. It cannot be denied that the average graduate of the modern high school is woefully weak in his knowledge of the meaning of the English words which he should reasonably be expected to know, and that his knowledge of English syntax, even functional syntax, is almost nil. Latin when taught with this aim in view is almost the *sine qua non* for giving the student an ability to use English and thereby the ability to think with some clarity. Furthermore, this foreign language experience should begin early, in the seventh or eighth grade where it might well be substituted for the formal English class.

General Language

I AM WELL aware that some educators think that a course in general language might produce this knowledge of and feeling for the English language as well or better than a course in some particular foreign language. As I have said in an earlier paper, "Personally, I enthusiastically believe in a course in General Language or elementary linguistics (which is not a cafeteria with samples from various languages, but a scientific if elementary study of linguistics) but I do not believe that such a course should be a substitute for the study of a foreign language."¹⁶ The student in the seventh, eighth or ninth grade will get a much greater thrill out of studying some one language than out of studying about

the history of words and the family of languages.

The course in general language should come in the twelfth grade, or possibly in the freshman year in college and should be required for every student who has progressed that far in his academic training. Several universities and colleges have recently started courses of this nature, and they are definitely a part of general education at the college level. Much trial and error in the technique of conducting such courses is still needed, but I believe that these courses may prove to be a great help in solving the problem of the illiterate high school senior and college freshman. Some such course is now required at Northwestern University and a general course in language has been made a degree requirement for all college students at the University of Chicago. The course at Chicago has been described as follows: "Aiming to introduce the student to the problems of language in general, and to show the relation of language study to other fields of knowledge, it harmonizes with the Chicago plan of emphasizing a well-rounded general education."¹⁷

I am also aware that some critics maintain that the best way to learn English is to study English and that the study of foreign languages gives little or no help to the learning of English. I cannot take time to marshal the objective evidence on this point, but I can state from a fairly wide acquaintance with the literature in this field that the experiments are almost unanimous in showing that Latin students are better than non-Latin students in their knowledge of English vocabulary, spelling and grammar and very much superior when special attention is given by the instructor to teaching for the students' improvement in English.¹⁸

Paradoxes are generally interesting but often irritating to the literal minded person. My paradox may be neither interesting nor irritating, but I believe it is true. Here it is. *The student's progress in English can be best measured by his progress in Latin, but his progress in Latin is eventually not as important as his progress in English.* I think I can best state the problem which faces the teacher of

elementary Latin by quoting the following from the Harvard Report: "Young people have definite minds, and to be told that they are studying a language and yet somehow not studying it could be confusing, to say the least. Hence, their progress must inevitably be measured to some extent by the new language rather than by the English. Here is at once the danger and the advantage of studying a single foreign speech as opposed to general language. The danger is that it shall be studied only for itself without relevance to English, as general language is clearly relevant. The advantage is that a single speech is something definite for students to grasp, an intellectually inherent system fixed in history and appealing both to their logical powers and to their imagination of mankind and of the past. The teacher who would escape this danger and reap these advantages has the complex task of interpreting a foreign culture through its language and, at the same time, of rousing the sense of structure and vocabulary as common to all language. This task calls for tact, knowledge, and sense of proportion of a very high order. Yet, given the history and nature of English—perhaps even the nature of the human mind which learns the familiar only by experience with the unfamiliar—few tasks are more important."¹⁹

Language Is the Core

IF I KNOW what general education is or should be, such a course, in my opinion, should be taken by every student who can benefit by the type of education which requires reading and intelligent discussion. Nor do I think this course in a foreign language, preferably Latin, should be crowded out of the student's program by the core curriculum. As I have said before, language is the core of the core and the English language cannot be adequately used without at least an elementary knowledge of its origin, framework and history. Only a relatively small proportion of these 7,000,000 high school students should pursue the study of foreign languages beyond this basic training in Communication. However, there will be a considerable number who will go further in their study of foreign lan-

guages—some will use the language as a tool in business, translation, scholarship and teaching, but the most of them “should find in a foreign language more than a tool, an insight into another culture, a vision of the history of ideas, something which in depth and vitality far surpasses translation.”²⁰ As only about 14% of our adult population are high school graduates, it seems reasonable to expect most of those who go on to graduation to have some first-hand knowledge of the culture of Rome, if not of Greece, and of the modern nations whose language is not English.

It is truly unfortunate that so few of our students gain any knowledge first-, second- or third-hand, of the great cultural debt the modern world owes to ancient Greece. We Latin teachers should make a definite effort to interest our better students in studying Greek in the original. The educational philosophers talk much about the intellectual, political and artistic ferment which the Hellenes started and which is still influencing the thought and emotions of the world, but it is unfortunately mostly talk. The number of people who know anything first-hand about Greek literature is pathetically small. As the Harvard Report says so well: “General Education will only make more clear the fundamental place in our culture of the great Greek writings. Philosophy, political theory, many branches of literature, even as they largely began for us in these writings, so inevitably return to them for comparison and refreshment. Though the great majority of students will come to know these writings in translation, still general education will fail of part of its function unless it leads some to that vividness of understanding which only the original can inspire. This, in sort, is the purpose of all further study of language in general education—to give to some that vitality in humanistic training which others will gain in scientific training and which, so far as schooling can assure insight, is the root of insight.”²¹

In this paper, I have tried to show that the chief contributions which the study of Latin and Greek, as well as the modern languages, should make to general education are: *FIRST:*

to refine and improve the student's ability to communicate with and understand his neighbor at home and abroad: *SECOND:* “To assist in the student's knowledge and understanding of the history of the past and the environment of the present in those respects that vitally affect intelligent activity in our present-day world.”²² Any individual who has not attained these abilities and this knowledge does not have an education and cannot adequately meet the problems of this confusing and confused civilization. If the teachers of the classical languages are not examining the results of their teaching critically on the basis of these objectives and teaching with these two aims constantly in view, they are not contributing to general education nor, for that matter, to any vital education. Neither I nor anyone else can make a “blue print” as to just how this sort of teaching can be done, but most of us have been fortunate enough to have had one or more teachers who made us see, if only dimly, the great treasures we have inherited from the world of the Greeks and the Romans by means of which we are enabled to lead the more abundant life.

Individual Differences

BEFORE I conclude this paper, I must stress the point that I am not arguing for the so-called aristocratic education; it is the duty of the high school to meet the individual differences among its students. The old fashioned classical college education, while admirable in many ways, was for the chosen few who expected to go on to college and become the intellectual leaders and statesmen of the nation. The study of Latin and Greek continues to be a most valuable training for such leadership. To quote from Samuel Eliot Morrison's Commencement Address at Wooster College, 1939, “A Majority of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and of the framers of the Federal Constitution were classically trained college men; and most of the remainder had studied in school more classics than most Americans nowadays learn in college. Our Revolutionary leaders were not fitted for responsibility by courses in

civics, sociology and psychology. It was by Plutarch's *Lives*, the orations of Cicero and Demosthenes, and by Thucydides that the young men of the 1760's learned the wisdom to deal with other men and with great events in the 1770's and 80's. American Revolutionary leaders both North and South, the Adamases and Trumbulls of New England; Hamilton, John Jay, the Morrisises and Stocktons of the Middle States; Madison, Mason, and Jefferson of Virginia; and the Rutledges and Pinckneys of South Carolina were prepared for their unexpected tasks by a study of classical culture that broadened their mental horizon, sharpened their intellectual powers, stressed *virtus* and promoted *areté*, the civic qualities appropriate to a Republican. It was of Greek virtue and Roman honor that Thomas Jefferson was thinking when he concluded the immortal declaration, "We mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."²³ It is too bad that more of our talented young men are not getting such a training in these days of "presentism." We must, however, face the fact that many, probably the great majority of the present high school population, cannot assimilate any such education.

I agree with Mr. Havighurst when he says that in his judgment "the new secondary school must do four things: (1) It must make distinctions among students with different abilities and expectations in life. In addition to a uniform "education for the common life," there should be a wide variety of elective activities. (2) It must help the ablest students to rise in the social scale if they wish to do so. (3) It must help young people find satisfaction through other methods than climbing to the top of the social-economic pyramid. (4) It must contribute to raising the general standard of living of the lower economic group."²⁴ The classical studies should and must fit into this truly democratic type of education. Such aims as Havighurst lays down are dependent not so much on the content of the course as on the spirit of the teacher and his social and educational philosophy. So we end with this old saw. No kind of education, general or otherwise, and no philosophy of

education, be it Progressive, essentialist, classical, vocational, pragmatic or what not, is worth a tinker's dam without a teacher with adequate scholarship and what is even more important, with certain human, sympathetic, critical, democratic, and down-to-earth qualities—in short, with plenty of good old-fashioned "horse sense."

NOTES

¹ *Harvard Report on General Education in a Free Society*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1945), 9.

² Havighurst, Robert, "Education for Social Cohesion in a Democracy" in Edwards, Newton, et al., *Education in a Democracy*, Chicago (1941), 41.

³ *Harvard Report*, op. cit., 65.

⁴ *Harvard Report*, op. cit., 93.

⁵ Havighurst, Robert, op. cit., 161.

⁶ Green, Theodore M., et al., *Liberal Education Re-examined*, (Harpers), New York (1943), 85.

⁷ DeWitt, Norman J., "General Education and all That," an editorial in *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, 42 (1946), p. 39.

⁸ Hutchinson, Mark E., "The Place of Latin in the Modern High School," *Classical Weekly* 39 (1945), 4-6.

⁹ Buswell, Guy T., "Essential Functions of Education in a Democracy" in Edwards, Newton et al., op. cit., 50-51.

¹⁰ Green, Theodore, M., et al., op. cit., 88.

¹¹ Bode, B. H., *Progressive Education at the Crossroads*, New York, Newson (1938), 68.

¹² Bagley, W. C., "Progressive Education is Too Soft" *Education* 40 (1939), 76-77.

¹³ *Harvard Report*, op. cit., 67.

¹⁴ West, Michael, *Language in Education*: New York, Longmans, Green & Co. (1929), 10.

¹⁵ *Harvard Report*, op. cit., 121.

¹⁶ Hutchinson, Mark E., "The Place of Foreign Languages in Post-War Education," *The Modern Language Journal*, (1946), 261.

¹⁷ Metcalf, George J., "Experiments with Intensive Language Teaching at the University of Chicago," *The German Quarterly*, 19 (1946), 6.

¹⁸ For a review of the latest research along this line cf. Hutchinson, Mark E., "Some Recent Research in the Teaching of Latin," *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, 39 (1944), 452-455 & 458.

¹⁹ *Harvard Report*, op. cit., 125.

²⁰ *Harvard Report*, op. cit., 126.

²¹ *Harvard Report*, op. cit., 126.

²² Cf. Prescott, H. W., "The Relation of the Humanities to General Education" in Gray, W. S. (ed.) *General Education, Its Nature, Scope and Essential Elements*, University of Chicago Press, (1934).

²³ Morrison, Samuel Eliot, *The Ancient Classics In a Modern Democracy* (Commencement Address Delivered at the College of Wooster, 12 June, 1939), Oxford University Press, (1939), 23.

²⁴ Havighurst, Robert, op. cit., 163.

LANX SATURA

Quidquid agunt homines,
votum timor ira voluptas
gaudia discursus, nostri
farrago libelli est.

The Final Examination

IT HAD ALL been so very confusing. First, the long way down, down. *Facilis descensus*. The old leaking skiff. Up at the lake, it would have been out of the water in no time for a coat of paint. The ferryman needed a bath. Odd that none of the passengers had ever given him an old suit of clothes. Queer crowd, too. What was that phrase about the river? *Est flumen Arar*—no, this couldn't be the Saone—too dark. *Quod* . . . how did that go? . . . *quod incredibili lenitate* . . . got the *i* in the ablative, too . . . back in Miss Porter's classroom. Everything was so gloomy. And the dog. Three heads. Like a dream . . . incredible . . . fantastic . . . familiar.

The long shabby table. The committee sitting around like judges. Funny little snub-nosed man at the other end. Sometimes he looked off into space; sometimes his eyes became quick and shrewd.

"Your name, please."

The fantasy suddenly became real. This was the final oral examination.

The snub-nosed little man looked down the length of the table and smiled. "If I am not mistaken, you hold the Ph.D. degree?"

"Yes, sir."

"Will you please tell the other members of the committee what those letters stand for. . . ."

"Yes, sir. *Philosophiae doctor*. Doctor of philosophy."

"Indeed, my good friend, you must be on the one hand a very learned man who has earned such a title in three languages and who on the other professes to be a doctor of philosophy. Since we are by no means all familiar with the customs of your land, perhaps you will tell us what a doctor of philosophy really is."

"Yes, sir. A doctor of philosophy is, according to the Latin meaning of doctor, one

who teaches. Therefore a doctor of philosophy is a teacher of philosophy, and also, by implication, one learned in philosophy."

"Excellently phrased, good sir. You are welcome among this company, for you are among philosophers and teachers. Here, on my right, is one of my friends, a mere youth when first I knew him. In his time he wrote many books about me in which I am made to say many wise, yes, and wonderful things. And on my left is the head, you might say in your own land, of the Department of Biology and Logic, although I know that you do not classify your departments in such a manner. The gentleman half-way down the table—who looks as if he were about to make a speech—is, you might say, Dean of the Division of the Humanities, Professor of Rhetoric, and he also teaches part-time in the Law School. All of us are much interested in philosophy, and that is why we are glad to see you here. For we are not quite sure what philosophy is, and we are eager for you to tell us."

"Yes, sir . . . Well, philosophy comes from Greek, and means "Love of Wisdom."

"Excellently put, good sir. But by the dog, I confess that I still feel some uncertainty about what philosophy is. What is it then that you love, if you are a lover of wisdom?"

"I guess it means to wish to be wise. That is, wisdom is the same thing as being wise."

"Indeed, sir, you seem on the one hand to be making progress, yet on the other hand, we who are searching for knowledge from you seem to be advancing to no place anywhere swiftly. Perhaps, to help us avoid discouragement, you will tell us what it is that you are wise about when you are awarded the degree of lover of wisdom?"

"Yes, sir. When you get a Ph.D. degree, it means that you have written a dissertation."

"I am ashamed, good friend, of my ignorance, but the Goddess of Truth compels me to ask indeed another question. Pray, tell us,

just what is a dissertation?

"A dissertation is an original contribution to knowledge."

"By Zeus, what a wonderful place a Graduate School must be. Surely Athene and Apollo and the Muses must be jealous of the priest who rules such a temple. For therein, according to your account, are many lovers of wisdom who contribute to knowledge. Perhaps you will tell us now, since we are also lovers of wisdom in that we are thirsting for knowledge from you, what it is that the dissertation offered up to the Priest-Dean as a contribution to knowledge is knowledge of."

"Well, in my case, the contribution bore the title, 'Aspects of Some Problems Related to Investigations of the Weakening of the Iota Subscript in the Lost Works of the Choliambic Poets of the Minor Sicilian Dialects.'"

"And this was . . ."

"Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy."

At a gesture from the chairman, the entire board of examiners rose and remained standing for one minute in reverent silence.

The little man resumed the questioning apologetically. "We are indeed to be counted blessed among all men," he remarked, "we who are in the presence of such a philosopher. And now, tell us, pray, we who are mere pursuers of wisdom and by no means possessors, is this knowledge to which you have contributed knowledge possessed by someone other than yourself, or do you alone know it?"

"I don't think I understand, sir."

"Indeed, I do seem to be speaking in riddles, like the Boeotian witch. I shall try again, and may the god forbid that I emulate the toil of hapless Sisyphus in the myth. Tell me, good sir, to whose knowledge did your contribution to knowledge contribute?"

"I don't know, sir. I was just supposed to contribute to knowledge."

"Then tell me, does knowledge exist of itself, or must some one know it before knowledge truly is?"

"I suppose that knowledge is only when

someone knows something."

"Then by the dog, since you have answered so wisely, perhaps I may boldly ask in my helplessness: who on the one hand knows the knowledge to which you contribute and on the other hand of what is the knowledge to which you contribute?"

"I don't exactly know, sir. That stuff was never brought up in the seminar, unless it was the week I had the gripe. We were just supposed to contribute to knowledge, to learn scholarly methods and all."

"Alas, I fear that my questions show how ignorant I am. But dear sir, perhaps you will tell me this: is knowledge one or is it many?"

"Huh?"

The Professor of Biology and Logic leaned forward. "May I ask a question? I would like you to tell us what your contribution to knowledge was for."

"Why, to get a Ph.D. degree."

"But let us now take an example so that you will understand my question a little more clearly. Can you really *know* a human hand without *knowing* a human body as to its form?"

"No, sir, I guess not."

"The hand, as such, presupposes the body?"

"Yes, sir."

"Then what did your knowledge of . . . *ti deinon!* . . . whatever that was that you wrote about . . . presuppose?"

"I think I see what you mean. I guess it presupposes a knowledge of the classical field as a whole, now that you mention it."

"Then, since the form of the hand presupposes the form of the body, and since your contribution to knowledge presupposes knowledge of the Classics as a whole, are there not higher and lower forms of knowledge?"

"Yes, sir."

"And is your knowledge lower than knowledge of the Classics as a whole?"

"I guess so."

"And is knowledge of the Classics in turn lower than some other higher knowledge which it presupposes?"

"I suppose so."

"Then what is this higher knowledge to which knowledge of the Classics leads?"

"We didn't take that up, either."

The biologist nodded across the table. The Dean of the Division of the Humanities cleared his throat. "*Quae cum . . .* I mean, that is, what are these Classics that you know about? Did you ever study any of my works?"

"Yes, sir. I took a seminar."

"What did you learn?"

"Well, let me see. We studied the subjunctive, mainly. Our professor wrote his thesis on that."

"*Pro di immortales!* Go on . . ."

"Well, that's about all, I guess; I know the main facts of your life and all that."

"What is the *one* main fact of my life?"

"Well, you wrote a poem about your consulship."

"Never mind about that!" said the Dean of the Humanities hastily. "Something more important."

"You made speeches . . . Oh, you mean something philosophical. I know; you said something about liberal education."

"*Ubinam gent . . .* What is liberal education?"

"Well, I guess it's the humanities and values and all that."

"Values of what?"

"Well, like the pursuit of truth."

"Truth about what?"

"I'm not exactly sure. I guess that was the week I had the grippe, all right."

The chairman looked around at his fellow committeemen. "I think that will be enough," he said, sadly. "Let the candidate wait outside."

A few minutes later the candidate was being escorted along the road from which no scholar returns, past the Lake of Tantalus, past the Sieves of the Danaïdes, the Hill of Sisyphus, and the Vultures of Tityus, to the Infernal Campus, where he was condemned to spend eternity in the Faust Library, checking references to non-existent works for the monumental but never to be finished *Handbuch der Ununtersuchungsforschungen*.

He had flunked the final oral.

Dissecting the Classics

LETTERS FROM OUR readers are among the major compensations of the editorial chair. We quote here one paragraph from the best letter we have received in the past year—a letter from a high-school teacher in the Middle West. After some gratifying comments, and some documented criticisms of pin-point scholarship which we charitably suppress, she writes:

"I sometimes turn away from classical articles and from speeches made in classical conventions with a dusty feeling, as if I had been burrowing in materials that had been gathering the dust of centuries and were not fresh, vital, and stimulating as claimed; and with the feeling that the Classics are really dead; and that the college professors are trying to dissect the corpse . . . and resuscitate it simultaneously (while other professors, well seconded by high-school teachers and even by laymen, keep up the same noisy propaganda about "the value of the Classics"—all based on a negative assumption). It's good propaganda, of course, but I'm so tired of it! Are other people? That is, teachers of other subjects, administrators, and students—who else pays any attention to us? And do they also guess the not so subtle truth that vitalized Classics speak for themselves?"

As Cicero might have said, *Quid multum!*

Billy Rose and the Classics

OUR FAVORITE breakfast exercise is to Billy Rose's Column in the morning paper, "Pitching Horseshoes," if only for such arresting items as the story of the man who graduated from army cooking school with frying crullers.

We were considerably thunderstruck one morning not long ago to find Billy including classical anecdotes in a disquisition on bright remarks. Among them was the retort attributed to Callimachus, who was asked by the barber how he wanted his hair cut. "In silence," was the reply.

How's that again about the universality of the Classics?

CURRENT EVENTS

CORNELL COLLEGE CONFERENCE

CORNELL COLLEGE, Mount Vernon, Iowa, will present a Classical Conference and Panel Discussion for the fourth successive year on Friday and Saturday, March 14 and 15, 1947.

"The Classical Tradition in American Culture" will be the general theme of the conference.

"One World and Foreign Languages" will be the topic for the panel discussion Saturday afternoon.

Some of the well-known authorities in the classical field who will appear on the program are Gertrude Smith and Harold Dunkel, University of Chicago, A. P. Dorjahn, Clyde Murley and E. L. Highbarger, Northwestern University, Gerald Else, Dorrance White, and Oscar Nybakken, University of Iowa, Bruno Meinecke, University of Michigan, Norman DeWitt, Washington University, W. C. Korfmacher, St. Louis University, Paul L. MacKendrick, University of Wisconsin, Sister Mary McDonald, Mundelein College, Charles J. Adamec, Knox College, John Hrtiz, College of St. Theresa, George McCracken, Drake University, Florence Brubaker, Oak Park High School, Mrs. Katherine Bogart, Austin (Minnesota) High School, Mrs. Lillian Hadley, Steinmetz High School, Chicago, L. V. Jacks, Creighton University, and Margaret Burkhardt of Evanston High School.

On Friday afternoon, Professor Walter V. Kaulfers of Leland Stanford University will lecture on "Recreating Life through Literature and Language," and a round-table discussion will follow. Mr. Kaulfers is the author of numerous studies of the teaching of foreign cultures.

On Friday evening there will be two addresses: the first by Professor Norman J. DeWitt of Washington University on "What's Wrong with the Classics? (301)" and the second by Professor Bruno Meinecke of the University of Michigan on "Music Among the Greeks and Romans."

A number of interesting and stimulating papers are scheduled for the general and special meetings on Friday morning.

Professor Mark E. Hutchinson of Cornell College will be glad to furnish further details about this conference.

CLEVELAND CLASSICAL CLUB

THE FIRST meeting of the Classical Club of Greater Cleveland for 1946-47 was held on December 7 at the Mid-Day Club in Cleveland.

The President, Dean Edward C. McCue of John Carroll University presided over the luncheon session. Eighty members and guests were present.

Three college teachers of English presented a panel discussion on the teaching of English. Dean R. L. Shurter of Case School of Applied Science introduced the subject and discussed the preparation of students coming to Case. They emphasized the fact that Case and other engineering schools expect their students to have a good command of written and spoken English.

Dr. G. A. Grauel of John Carroll University dealt with the reading phase of the English problem, recommending, among other points, that less emphasis be placed on quantity of material read and more on the real comprehension of the subject matter.

Dean W. P. Jones of Adelbert College, Western Reserve University, spoke on the understanding of grammar that may be expected of students of English; of the linguistic relationship of Latin and English for vocabulary; of the regularity of the grammar of the Latin language and the importance of its knowledge of teachers of English.

After an interesting discussion by members and guest, Dean McCue closed the meeting by giving his views on the philosophy of education in relation to American life, and on what should be expected of these students in American schools.

SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY CLASSICAL CLUB

Now in its eighteenth year, the Classical Club of St. Louis University and its senior corporate colleges, Fontbonne, Maryville, and Webster, in conjunction with the Beta Zeta Chapter of Eta Sigma Phi (National Classical Honorary), is presenting an active and varied program of meetings for 1946-47.

Six regularly scheduled meetings are held throughout the year on Sunday afternoons, each meeting being devoted to a general classical subject with detailed papers being presented by members representing each college. During the current year, the general topics are, Epic Poetry, Lyric Poetry, Dramatic Poetry, Historical Prose, Oratorical Prose, Philosophical Prose. Under each topic, one of the student papers traces the classical tradition into English literature and modern thought.

The President of the Classical Club is Elizabeth Convy, Webster, '47; the President of the local chapter of Eta Sigma Phi is Ray Schmandt, St. Louis University, Arts, '47.

NOTES

Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 111 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

BLOOD, SWEAT AND TEARS

ON MAY 10, 1940 Germany invaded the Low Countries, and three days later Winston Churchill, the new Prime Minister, delivered in Commons the address which contained this famous sentence: "I would say to the House, as I said to those who have joined this Government: 'I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears, and sweat.'"¹ Did Mr. Churchill originate that phrase? It is recorded that he was, in his school days, an indifferent classicist. Yet few will deny him a place as one of the great orators of our day. And his rhetoric stands squarely in the tradition of Burke and Gladstone, whose English eloquence was deeply indebted to classical models. It may be of interest, therefore, to consider what classical prototypes his most famous phrase may have had.²

Labor and *lacrimae* seem not to have been paired in a single phrase, but *lacrimae* and *luctus* were. Accius has

Miseret lacrimarum luctuum orbitudinis³

and amid the slaughter of Romans at Cannae a military tribune dashed to the side of the bleeding Aemilius and helped him to mount his horse, saying:

Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris. Etiam sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est.⁴ Lucretius thus describes the weary mourners at Athens during the great plague, returning home after burying their dead:

... lacrimis lassi luctuque redibant; inde bonam partem in lectum maerore dabantur.⁵

Firmicus Maternus berates the ritual lamentations for Proserpina, Atys and Osiris in these terms:

Si lacrimis et luctu digni sunt, cur eos divino honore cumulatis? ... si luctu eos dignos putatis ac lacrimis, deos eos appellare nolite, ne luctibus ac

lacrimis vestris maiestas divini nominis polluat. ...⁶

In Cicero the expression is *lamenta et luctus*. Compare *In Pisonem* 89:

Quid, quod tu totiens diffidens ac desperans rebus tuis in sordibus, lamentis luctuque iacuisti ...?

Closer to the English coinage is *sanguis et sudor*, or, more usually, *sudor et sanguis*. The phrase was current in Latin at all periods. Ennius mentions *spolia sine sudore et sanguine*⁷ and Cicero in introducing a naturalistic explanation of an alleged miracle writes *nec enim sanguis nec sudor nisi e corpore est*.⁸ When in 63 B.C. Cicero saw in Rullus' agrarian proposal the beginning of an attempt, as he thought, to rob the plebs of their political freedom by offering them an illusory hope of economic freedom (to use a modern catchword), he pleaded with them not to follow any false messiahs:

Nolitote dubitare plurimo sudore et sanguine maiorum vestrorum partam vobisque traditam libertatem nullo vestro labore consule adiutore defendere ...⁹

and put the query to them:

Et vos non dubitatis quin vectigalia vestra vendatis plurimo maiorum nostrorum sanguine et sudore quaesita, ut Sullanos possessores divitiis augeatis, periculo liberetis?¹⁰

It will depend upon your persuasions in current politics whether you think the phrase in Cicero's use of it has a demagogic ring. The same holds for Livy 2.48.2: the patrician Caeso Fabius, on becoming consul in 479 B.C., made the novel proposal that newly conquered territory be granted to the plebs, arguing that it was only fair *habere eos quorum sanguine ac sudore partus sit*. Later, Livy speaks of Campania as a land held by the Roman army *qui sudore ac sanguine inde*

Samnites depulisset.¹¹ He represents the partisans of Marcus Manlius as chiding the Romans for ingratitude toward their savior:

'Could they not see the line of Gauls scaling the Tarpeian rock? Could they not see Marcus Manlius himself, as they had seen him, covered with sweat and blood (*plenum sudoris ac sanguinis*) . . . ?'¹²

Seneca, in praising the absolutist position in ethics, so distasteful to our age of academic relativism, recurs to the suicide of one of his favorite heroes, Cato of Utica. It was, he affirms, one of those events which most effectively demonstrate how standing on principle, even if it means standing alone under the most adverse circumstances, is a relevant and educative act: *speciem quae nobis non sertis, sed sudore et sanguine colenda est*.¹³

Tacitus achieves a rhetorical contrast when he notes that to the Germans *pigrum et iners videtur sudore adquirere quod possis sanguine parare*.¹⁴ There is a modern touch, too, in what Pliny says of the triumphal statue erected to Spurrinna. The latter was not, according to Pliny, one of those to whom military honors were awarded without their ever having heard a trumpet except at a show, but rather of those *qui decus istud sudore et sanguine et factis assequabantur*. . . .¹⁵

There appears to be no instance of the perfect rhetorical group of four terms corresponding to the sweeping "blood, toil, tears, and sweat." The popularity of "sweat and blood," especially with Cicero and with Livy in his speeches, indicates that the locution had a good, rousing ring for the hustings, however. That impression is supported

by Macrobius' reference to the heroic virtues that had gone into the building of Rome. There is nostalgia, and surely some feeling for the tears that are at the heart of things, in his retrospect of the age of Rome's greatness. Those centuries, he says, though not without their abuses, *hoc imperium vel sanguine vel sudore pepererunt, quod non nisi virtutum faceret ubertas*. . . .¹⁶

RICHARD HENRY CRUM

New York City

NOTES

¹ *Blood, Sweat, and Tears*, by the Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill, C.H., M.P., with a Preface and Notes by Randolph S. Churchill, M.P. (New York, Putnam, 1941) 276.

² Although I have collected all the parallels I could find, the present list makes no pretense at completeness.

³ Accius, fr. 94R. Compare Seneca, *De Prov.* 1. 6: *Itaque cum videris bonos viros acceptosque dis laborare, sudare, per arduum ascendere, malos autem lascivire et voluptatibus fluere, cogita filiorum nos modestia delectari, vernularum licentia . . .*

⁴ Livy 22. 49. 8.

⁵ Lucretius 6. 1248.

⁶ *De Errore Profanarum Religionum* 8. 4.

⁷ Ennius (ed. Vahlen,² p. 18).

⁸ *De Div.* 2. 58.

⁹ *De Leg. Ag.* 2. 16.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 2. 69.

¹¹ Livy 7. 38. 6. Valerius Maximus (7. 6. 1) speaks in similar vein of the relaxation of Roman control over Sicily and Sardinia after the disaster of Cannae. Those islands he refers to as *tam multo sudore et sanguine in ius et potestatem redactas*.

¹² Livy 6. 17. 4.

¹³ Seneca, *Epist.* 67. 12. Compare *De Prov.* 2. 6-7, a famous passage, which Addison prefixed to his *Cato*.

¹⁴ *Germ.* 14.

¹⁵ *Epist.* 2. 7. 1.

¹⁶ *Sat.* 3. 14. 2.

In our March issue:

WHO READ VERGIL IN ZIN?

H. Dunscombe Colt

IN PRAISE OF THE LESS ABUNDANT LIFE

Clyde Murley

THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK

A department for the discussion of classroom theory and practise, and the exchange of practical teaching ideas, conducted under the direction of the Committee of Educational Policy of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. Teachers are urged to forward items of general interest based on their own experience to the Editorial Representative of the Committee, Mrs. Ruth F. Joedicke, Mary Institute, Clayton 5, Missouri.

Synoptic Report of Latin Week as Observed in 1946

THE REPORTS received indicated that the activities and projects of Latin Week 1946 grew spontaneously from the normal work of the classroom. There was no general uniformity in the week chosen by the different states, or in some cases even, by the different schools within the same state.

Posters made by the pupils in Latin classes were the favorite means of introducing Latin Week to the school and the community. A number of schools included photographs of such displays in their reports. It is encouraging to note the increasing number of schools that are making use of the radio. So many newspaper clippings were received that it is impossible to give a detailed account of them in the JOURNAL. Special reports, book reviews, Latin songs, dramatic skits, and quiz programs were enjoyed in many classrooms. Outside of the classroom the favorite activity was a Roman banquet. Several menus, both elaborate and artistic, were received. Urban schools generally included a trip to the local museum in connection with their observation of Latin Week. Movies, special editions of Latin newspapers, and addresses by prominent citizens were among the other activities reported.

The reports received by the general Chairman are listed by states. (Following the name of each state is the Chairman of Latin Week for that state.)

ALABAMA—Lelia Kate Poyner
Montgomery, Sidney Lanier High School
Lelia Kate Poyner

ARKANSAS—Ruth Boggs
Camden, the high school
Elizabeth Henry Buck
Clarksville, the high school
Martha Bashan
Fayetteville, University High School
Cecelia Russell, Ruth Boggs
Ft. Smith, St. Scholastica Academy
Sister M. Raphael
Jonesboro, Holy Angels' Academy
Sister M. Theresina
Little Rock, the high school
Anne B. Chandler, Loreen Lee
N. Little Rock, the high school
Bertie Johnston
Pine Bluff, the high school
Annis Klie
Rogers, the high school
Dorothy Gene Hamilton
Russellville, the high school
Mrs. Guy Gardner
Hot Springs, the high school
Robert Walker, Mrs. Opal Harm

COLORADO—E. Eugenie Guindon
Denver, South High School
E. Eugenie Guindon
North High School
Jean R. Ingersoll

FLORIDA—Gladys Laird (no report)

ILLINOIS—Lois Ashton
Centralia, Township High School
Elizabeth J. Hert

Chicago, Steinmetz High School
 L. R. Hadley
 Elmhurst, York Community High School
 Lois Ashton
 Quincy, Notre Dame High School
 Sister M. Emily

INDIANA—Gertrude Oppelt
 Danville, Danville Public Schools
 Mary M. Rust
 Ft. Wayne, South Side High School
 Gertrude Oppelt
 Central High School
 Eva McKinnie
 Indianapolis, Shortridge High School
 Josephine Lee
 Thomas Carr Howe High School
 Narcie Pollott
 Michawaka, the high school
 Emily Barracks

IOWA—Eleanor Nelson
 Bedford, the high school
 Cecile Long
 Council Bluffs, Abraham Lincoln High School
 Margaret Henderson
 Davenport, the high school
 Minnie Eskelson
 Des Moines, Washington Irving Junior High School
 Katherine Risser
 East High School
 Winifred Cummings
 Fairfield, the high school
 Grace A. Calvert
 Fort Dodge, the Junior High School
 Eleanor E. Nelson
 Grinnell, the high school
 Harriett Korns
 Manilla, the high school
 Verna Karstens
 Oelwein, the high school
 Hazel Nelson
 Onawa, the high school
 James Hubbard
 Webster City, the high school
 Ethel Virtue

KANSAS—Mrs. G. Lewis Penner
 Atwood, Community High School
 Ferne Yager
 Beloit, the high school
 Mrs. Irwin, Mr. Chestnut
 Delia, Rural High School
 Mrs. G. Lewis Penner

Effingham, the high school
 Elizabeth Stillings
 Garnett, the high school
 Hazel Pullman
 Hutchinson, Sherman Junior High School
 Betty Birchenough
 Kansas City, Wyandotte High School
 Mary W. Sellards
 Lansing, Rural High School
 Agnes Neunheller
 Lawrence, University High School
 Winnie D. Lowrance
 Nortonville, the high school
 Edith Lanter
 Riley, Rural High School
 Mrs. Ralph Rohler
 Salina, Mary Mount College
 Sister Marie Antoinette
 Sacred Heart Cathedral High School
 Topeka, Crane High School
 Ruth Platt

KENTUCKY—Charlotte Ludlum (no report)

MICHIGAN—James E. Dunlap
 Alpina, the high school
 Margaret E. Lees
 Bessemer, A. D. Johnston High School
 Elmine Ciagne
 Brooklyn, the high school
 Lillian A. Perkins
 Dearborn, Fordson High School
 Margaret MacMillan
 Detroit, St. Catherine Convent
 Sister Albertine
 Grand Rapids, Union High School
 D. S. Blake
 Mt. Morris High School
 Hadley, the high school
 Louis McKenzie
 Marquette, Graveraet High School
 M. Florence Driscoll
 Royal Oak, the high school
 Mina E. Land
 Sault Ste. Marie, the high school
 Mabel J. Mather

MINNESOTA—Hays P. Archerd
 St. Paul, Central High School

MISSOURI—Virginia A. McClure
 Columbia, Hickman High School
 Ruth Ingram
 Fayette, the high school
 Mrs. C. B. Galatas

Hannibal, Central High School
 Bessie B. Brown
Kansas City, Southeast High School
 Mary Virginia Clarke
 East High School
 Virginia McClure
 Central High and Junior High School
 Evelyn McLaughlin
 Westport High School
 Mabel Eggleston
 Manual High & Vocational School
 Nina Drake
 Northeast Junior High School
 Anna L. Elliott
 Southwest High School
 K. M. Morgan
Mexico, the high school
 Lucy Denham
Moberly, Junior High School
 Emilie Hickerson
St. Joseph, Benton High School
 Vita Finley
St. Louis, St. Louis University
 W. C. Korfmacher
 McKinley High School
 Helen Shriver
 Afton High School
 Marie T. Bergmann
 Clayton High School
 Melita Denny
 Webster Groves High School
 Hazel K. Farmer
 Sumner High School
 Mildred E. Huff
 Ritenour High School
 Pearl F. Yancey
 Mary Institute
 Alice Johnson, Ruth Joedicke
Springfield, St. Agnes High School
 Sister M. Concepta, R.S.M.
Trenton, the high school
 Jessie H. Branan

NEBRASKA—Mildred Warde
Omaha, Central High School
 Mrs. Engle

N. CAROLINA—Marie Denneen, (no report)

NORTH DAKOTA—A. M. Rovelstad
 No specific schools or teachers were mentioned
 in this report.

OHIO—Clara Fink
 Cincinnati, University of Cincinnati
 W. T. Semple, Malcolm F. McGregor
 Mrs. Elizabeth Caskey, C. G. Boulter

Hughes High School
 Clara Fink, Gladys Busch, Rosemary Hope
 Our Lady of Cincinnati College
 Hartwell School
 Wyoming School
 St. Ursula School
 Norwood School
 Regina School
 Walnut Hills School
 Withrow High School
 Western Hills High School
Cleveland, Cathedral Latin School
 Rev. Philip C. Hoelle, S.M.
 John Adams High School
 Roosevelt Junior High School
Columbus, Ohio State University
 Prof. John N. Hough
 Columbus Latin Club
 West High Latin Club
Mansfield, Johnny Appleseed Junior High
 School
 John Simpson Junior High School
Norwood, the high school
N. Olmsted, the high school
Toledo, Libbey High School
 Mrs. Pauline Emerson Burton
Wilmington, the high school
Youngstown, the high school
 Dorothy M. Seeger
 Lucille Lee

OKLAHOMA—Mary R. Bell

This report stated that there had been observances in many schools, but no specific schools or teachers were mentioned

S. CAROLINA—Donnis Martin (no report)

TEXAS—Mrs. Minnie Lee Shepard

University of Texas Publication, Latin Week
 Number (Gave no specific schools or teachers
 for Latin Week 1946)

UTAH—Marion Van Pelt

Salt Lake City, East High School
 Marion Van Pelt

There was a report from Miss Reynolds, name
 of school not given.

VIRGINIA—Dorothy Miller

Arlington, Washington-Lee High School
 Mabel R. Allen, Ruth Tomlinson
 Swanson Junior High School
 Dorothy Miller
Charlottesville, Lane High School
 Laura Thornhill

Fredericksburg, James Monroe High School
 Anne M. Owen
 Galax, the high school
 Besse Larue Jones
 Luray, the high school
 Mrs. Lynn Walton
 Lynchburg, Madison Heights High School
 Mrs. Nelli F. Powell
 Norfolk, Maury High School
 Mrs. Anne N. Stoff
 Pulasky, the high school
 Miss Linwood Kinder
 Winchester, Hanley High School
 Gertrude R. Peery
 Roanoke, Jefferson Senior High School
 Sally Lovelace
 Lee Junior High School
 Margaret L. Moneace

WEST VIRGINIA—Lucy A. Whitsel
 Charleston, Lincoln Junior High School
 Ethel Jones
 Woodrow Wilson Junior High School
 Elsie Jones
 East Bank, the high school
 Shirley Young Campbell
 Huntington, Commack Junior High School
 Irene Aber
 Marshall College Laboratory High School
 Shirley Foster
 West Junior High School
 Ruth Shackelford
 East High School
 Mildred Johnson
 New Martinsville, Magnolia High School
 Ruth F. Thompson
 Rainelle, the high school
 Violet Maynard
 Shinnston, the high school
 Anna Virginia Rector
 Wheeling, the high school
 Mary Patton Hackett

WISCONSIN—Esther Weightman
 Antigo High School
 Marguerite Hasse

NOTE: The Christmas spirit was already

in the air when this report was compiled. So many and varied ideas kept tumbling from the packages that it was just like opening Christmas presents. INACCURACIES THAT HAVE OCCURRED ARE GREATLY REGRETTED. Accurate and prompt reporting in 1947, first from teacher to State Chairman, would reduce the percentage of error. Some letters are lacking the name of the school; some State Chairmen did not include the teachers' names. States not included in the above list were not even reported as missing! However, report or no report, all are agreed that Latin Week has been a great boon to our cause.

R. F. J.

HINT OF THE MONTH

LATIN students of Graveraet High School, Marquette, Michigan, produced a novel idea for Latin Week in 1946, one which other students and teachers may consider using.

Their novelty consisted of a book mark. They used a piece of blue cardboard about 4 by 8 inches, so printed as to suggest folding down the middle. Blue ink was used. One side bears the legend "Book Mark . . . Latin Week, April 15-19, 1946," with the name of the school and a crest or seal. This is set centered in a 2-inch column, so that the book-mark may be folded.

On the other side of the 4 by 8 cardboard are listed 16 Latin phrases and mottoes under the heading "Such Short Latin Phrases As These Are In Daily Use." Some of the phrases are, *Et Cetera*, *Ex Officio*, *Ipso Facto*, *Post Mortem*, *Vice Versa*, *Per Capita*, *Ab Initio*, *Bona Fide*, *Prima Facie*, *In Aeternum*, all with the appropriate translations.

A book mark such as this serves a practical purpose, contains a little lesson even for non-Latin students, and carries out the basic purposes of Latin Week admirably.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE MALLOW FLOWER

RAMSAY, A. B., *Flos Malvae*: Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, The Macmillan Company (1946). Pp. 110. \$1.75.

THE MASTER of Magdalene College, Cambridge, has now added a fourth *lepidum novum libellum* to that notable trio, *Inter Lilia*, *Ros Rosarum*, and *Frondes Salicis*. Of the hundred and eighty poems or more which it contains, three are in Greek, some fifty in Latin, and the remainder in English; the present remarks will be confined to the second group.

Mr. Ramsay continues to handle all of the more familiar Latin meters with impartial ease, and in one instance has even experimented with accentual cretics, using them effectively to report the halting sophistries of a young Goliard who tries to "rationalize" certain of his academic shortcomings. Who looks for false quantities, seeking perversely to emulate the author's "belittler,"—

In character high and
In luminous mind
A speck I espy and
A blemish I find,—

will look in vain. This reviewer so promptly succumbed to Mr. Ramsay's spell that his ever meagre store of critical malice was soon dissipated. With wry approval he noted that in the solitary choliambic line containing a hephthemimeral caesura, the second foot ends with the end of a word; then, leaving the rest for others to discover, he settled back to read and enjoy anew; and finally concluded that "Ad Ionam Nubentem," a tender lyric in dainty glyconics and pherecratics, is the real jewel of the collection.

Problems of diction are solved as adroitly as those of prosody: witness this little pomp of potables, wherein wine, brandy, beer, shandygaff (if one divines rightly—with an alliterative fizz upon it) and whiskey stand in a series as neat and compact as a row of bot-

ties on a shelf:¹

Bacchicum iactant alii liquorem;
Dona Pomonae Cererisque ducunt;
Zinziver zytho vel acerba miscent
Hordea lymphis.

Machina and *via ferrata* sound no discord because they are so much like Italian, while it is not "Aries" but "Fons" ("C.M.W.—Well[e]s?) who amuses more than he scandalizes with his hardy *motore bo*. The following will illustrate Aries' skill in barbing an epigram with an ambiguous close:

Choerogenes, qui sus animo est et nomine,
iactat
'En, mihi quam constans sum similisque mei.
Quam bene se iactet, Mummi, fateare necesse est,
et sibi quam constans sit, similisque sui.

Many a glowing phrase from old Rome shimmers agreeably through the web of his verse, and the effect is reminiscent rather than imitative, much less cento-like; one enjoys meeting these old friends again and finding them so much at home in their new surroundings:

Cura non semper sequitur nocentem
Aut ratem scandit rapidumque currum;
Nuper immunis patria relictā
Me quoque fugi, . . .

Again we find:

urbi tu rus admisces, mus unus uterque,
occurring in a *causerie* written altogether in the manner of a Horatian satire. Then there are Lucretius ("Voluit rerum cognoscere causas"), Catullus ("sunt quibus est albus, sunt quibus ater homo"; "Tutor, ave atque vale"), Virgil ("O fortunatos iuvenes, sua si bona norint"; "... per tot discrimina rerum"), Ovid ("Saepe pater dicit, . . ."; cf. *Tristia* 4. 10. 21), Juvenal ("semper ego auditor"), and perhaps even the *Pervigilium Veneris* ("Vere novo . . ."). Aries' narrow

¹ Here let the reader make no rash inferences.

escape, while bicycling, from the *ingens machina* (Fons' dread *motore bo*) recalls Horace, *Od.* 2. 13, while his encounter with Grammatice evidently owes something to Ovid's with Elegeia (*Amores* 3. 1). College classes in Horace or Ovid would enjoy comparing these poems.

For the most part, Mr. Ramsay has addressed himself to a fairly limited circle of readers, so that the scattered allusions to matters mystically Cantabrigian tend to leave us transatlantics with the feeling that

we are of the *profanum volgus*, but at least we are better equipped than most Europeans to appreciate such deft Anglo-Latinisms as:

Nuper me, Licini, poteras prosternere pluma,—

or:

Non illi lapides aliis infligere debent,
qui fragiles habitant, vitrea tecta, domos.

ROGER PACK

University of Michigan

ROMAN TOWNS

NASH, ERNEST, *Roman Towns*: New York, J. J. Augustin (1944). \$6.00.

THIS BEAUTIFUL book consists of forty-one pages of text, one hundred and thirty-seven fine photographs, and eleven line drawings and plans. Many of the illustrations are full page photographs $6\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ " (more or less). All of them are beautiful and admirably reproduced; it would be difficult to select the most beautiful. Most of them are of subjects familiar to the classical student, but some will prove quite new to many readers.

The author, in his "Introductory Comparison," calls attention to the enormous debt of modern architecture to the architecture of Greece and Rome. He makes that strikingly clear by presenting side by side on opposite pages the old Sub-Treasury Building on Wall St., New York, and the Poseideum at Paestum; the Seth Low Library of Columbia University and the Pantheon in Rome; the Arch on Washington Square, New York, and the Arch of Titus in Rome; etc.

Brief but interesting accounts of the destruction and of the resurrection of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Ostia are given. Most of the 148 illustrations have to do with these three towns and Rome; but the author has added many views of architectural remains ranging from southern Italy to northern

Tuscany. They include aqueducts, walls and gates, streets, squares, bridges, public and private buildings, city dwellings and country villas, baths, tombs, as well as temples, theaters, and arches.

The text is a running commentary on the illustrations, with convenient marginal reference to the pictures.

The volume closes with 1) a classified list of the illustrations, 2) a convenient bibliography, and 3) a full index.

The book is beautifully printed and made up, but attention may be called to a few slips: "Herculaneum has only begun to reappear since the last decade of the Twentieth Century," which obviously means the last decade of the nineteenth century (p. 4); "I" (11) should, of course, be It; "Two piers and one arch is . . ." (12); triclinium is not a couch for three (17) but a place with three couches. The author is given to curious compounds such as "cattlemarket" (28), "templeruins" (28), "hewnrock" (36), "tombchambers" (39), "wellknown" (39).

Roman Towns is a lovely picture book, presenting "the pictorial charm of the ruins in the Italian landscape with their classical interest" in their "historical and topographical background."

WALTER MILLER

University of Missouri

ALCMAN, SAPPHO, AND IBYCUS

MARX, OLGA, AND MORWITZ, ERNST, *Poems of Alcman, Sappho, Ibycus*, Translated from the Greek, with an introduction by Dr. Morwitz: New York, Knopf (1945). Pp. 34+48 (unnumbered). \$10.00.

THIS BEAUTIFUL volume, limited to nine hundred and fifty copies, has been set in Greek Elzevir and Fournier and Cadmus types and printed in gold and black on Capuleti all-rag paper. It was designed by Bruce Rogers, bound in cloth with covers stamped in gold, and printed at the press of A. Colish for the publisher. This bare statement of particulars, coupled with a price rather beyond the expectations of the average classicist, will perhaps convey the idea that the book is a highly *de luxe* production on which the skill and affection of translators, designer, and craftsmen have been expended without stint. A further word of description may, however, be added. The decorative features of the book, aside from the excellence of typography itself, are largely embodied in the gold design of the title page and the series of gold printer's devices, so varied and graceful as to seem to call for some term beyond the conventional *fleuron* or *cul-de-lampe* for their adequate description. Among these the Borzoi dog of the publisher finds a place together with a group more pointedly classical in design, which include lyre, lyre-player, dancing figure and leaping hare, dolphin, cock, archer, grape-cluster, reclining drinker, torch racer, deer, goat, and staff-bearer, not to mention more conventional designs of flower and vase-pattern motif. The devices are used to divide the extracts, Greek and English on facing pages, and the designer, in making his selections has tempered symmetry with variety in a way that is both decorative and pleasing.

In the introductory essay Dr. Morwitz discusses the historical background from which lyric poetry emerged as well as the time, purpose, and talent of each of the three poets involved, with an explanatory comment on some at least of the passages that are subsequently translated. To attempt so much

in so brief a space forbids the elaboration of judgments and the author sometimes speaks with an assurance that leaves the classicist more than a trifle wistful. Thus we are told that Homer wrote "an account of the Trojan War, which occurred a hundred and fifty years before his time (p. 1)." So slight a thing is the agony of scholarship that has been expended on the *Ur-Ilias*, the *menis*, the *Achilleis*, and the date of Homer himself! One wonders what Dr. Morwitz would have thought of Rhys Carpenter's *Folk Tale, Fiction, and Saga in the Homeric Epics*, had it appeared in time for his perusal before writing this introduction.

Or again it is stated without qualification that in the eighth century "the language and civilization of Greece became homogeneous (p. 2)." One is frankly puzzled by the implications of such a statement, for elsewhere (p. 29) Dr. Morwitz refers to the Dorian, Ionian, and Aeolian dialectic forms which Ibycus used to adorn his verse. Similarly, the philologist could wish some further development of the observation that in or about the first Olympiad "the Greeks adapted symbols from the Northern Semitic alphabet to their own spoken word (p. 3)," and the sociological historian, who applauds Herodotus for his frank analysis of the causes of the Trojan War which are implied in the story of Paris and Helen (Herodotus 1.3-4) may wish to ponder at greater length this sentence: "It is a fair assumption that the attack on Troy, in its wider significance, was a war upon matriarchy (p. 21)."

In the estimate of poetic achievement there are some good observations. For instance, the comparison of the style and rhythm of Alcman's verse with that of Homer is effectively stated: "If Homer's verses surge like the sea, Alcman's leap like cascades (p. 12)." There is also a sound note on the seasons and on the grim realism which led Alcman to recognize in the spring not alone the idyllic period of burgeoning nature but a time when the earth did not produce food, and when hunger was

more common than not.¹

It is difficult to comment in detail on the text and translation since appearance has been preferred to utility to such an extent that neither are the extracts identified by reference to their place in the standard collections or by consecutive numbers in the present edition, nor are the pages themselves numbered in this part of the book. Reasonably enough, the brackets and asterisks of a critical edition are totally absent. Granted that a reviewer should confine himself to what the author has chosen to do rather than scold him for what he has preferred to leave undone, a word of warning against a deceptive appearance of ease that arises from the clear and unblemished text may be sounded. It is a salutary experience to keep a copy of Diehl's *Anthologia Lyrica* open on one's desk while studying the renderings.

In this connection it will be sufficient to query one reading, which occurs on the first page of the extracts from Alcman, viz. *θῶμ' ὑποτερπιδῶν δρεῖων*. Marx and Morwitz read *ὑποτερπιδῶν* as does Diehl (Alcman 1.49), who quotes a lengthy scholium in justification of the significance of "rock-lurking dreams." Yet the verse is translated in the present edition "a wonder beheld in a dream that passes," which is much more appropriate to Edmonds' reading *ὑποτερπιδῶν*, (*Lyra Graeca* 1, Alcman 1.49) and which Edmonds in turn renders "dreams that fly."

To speak in more general terms of the translations, they have been rendered in English blank verse of closely corresponding length, and the results have been pleasing and

successful in spite of a certain tyranny of language which inevitably makes itself felt when such correspondence by syllables is attempted. Thus *φθέγγεται* (end of first selection from Alcman) becomes "swings a voice"; and in the Cleis fragment from Sappho the first verse closes with the somewhat awkward expression—"her body has the look of"—for no good reason other than to make up the necessary count of syllables. In rendering Alcman's poem on the quiet of nature a valiant and commendable attempt has been made to devise expressions that have not been pre-empted by previous translators and we find such phrases as "the cracks of mountains," "the folk of bees," and "the nacreous ocean."

Yet the citation of isolated phrases that fail to please should not detract from the essential beauty and understanding of the translations as a whole. Not least is this apparent in the rendering of some of the brief fragments consisting of one or two verses. The poem of Sappho addressed to her brother Charaxus is handled with particular success, and conveys in effective manner the succession of intense emotions of supplication, of the desire for the ending of sorrow, and for the joy of harmonious participation in the good fortune that is now to follow.

Some spellings are novel and some constructions more than a little startling, e.g. *Cretan-Mycenian*, *Alcarius*, and commented as a transitive verb (p. 25). Misprints are rare and seem to be confined to the substitution of breathings for accents in one or two places. The book will give genuine pleasure to lovers of poetry and fine craftsmanship. It is rare that Greek themes have in recent days been made the medium of such productions.

HERBERT N. COUCH

Brown University

ROCKFORD COLLEGE LATIN SCHOLARSHIP

Rockford College announces a departmental scholarship of \$250 for one year to be awarded to an entering student in the field of Latin. Candidates must first qualify for admission to Rockford College and be accepted for admission before they will be eligible to apply. Applications for scholarships must be filed with the Director of Admission before April 1, 1947 and a written examination for the scholarship will be given not later than April 15. An application fee of \$5 is necessary in order to compete for the scholarship. For additional information, communicate with the Director of Admission, Rockford College, Rockford, Illinois.

¹ Cf. William C. Greene, "The Return of Persephone," CP 41, 105-107, who argues against the traditional view that Persephone is absent from the earth during the winter season, and claims rather that it is during the parched summer months that she should be thought to reside in Hades.

FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING
CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST
AND SOUTH

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, APRIL 3, 4, 5, 1947

CONVENTION CENTER: HOTEL HERMITAGE

(ALL MEETINGS FOR THE READING OF PAPERS IN ASSEMBLY HALL)

PROGRAM

THURSDAY, APRIL 3

9:00 A.M., *Registration, Main Lobby.*

9:00 A.M., *Meeting of the Executive Committee, Loggia.*

THURSDAY, 10:00 A.M.

NELLIE ANGEL SMITH, *Memphis State College, Presiding.*

RUTH CARROLL, *Pape School, Savannah, Georgia, "Realism in Latin Teaching, 1947."*

MRS. GLADYS LAIRD, *P. K. Yonge Laboratory School, University of Florida, "The Lighter Side of Latin Teaching."*

JONAH W. D. SKILES, *Northwestern State College (La.), "Current Problems in the Teaching of Classical Languages."*

CHAUNCEY E. FINCH, *Saint Louis University, "Latin and Russian as a Teaching Combination."*

BROTHER LOUIS CAVELL, S.C., *Menard Memorial High School, Alexandria, La., "Is our High-School Latin Course a Proper Vehicle for the Spiritual and Cultural Value of the Classics?"*

THURSDAY, 2:00 P.M.

ARTHUR H. MOSER, *University of Tennessee, President, Southern Section of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Presiding.*

JOHN F. CHARLES, *Wabash College, "The Marines of Athens."*

WINNIE D. LOWRANCE, *University of Kansas, "And There Was Sertorius."*

WALTER ALLEN, JR., *University of North Carolina, "High Society of the Ciceronian Period."*

SIBYL STONECIPHER, *Western Kentucky State Teachers College, "Mythology for Moderns."*

BRUNO MEINECKE, *University of Michigan, "Musico-Therapy Among the Greeks and Romans," (30 minutes).*

THURSDAY, 4:00 P.M.

The Committee on Educational Policies will meet in the Loggia.

THURSDAY, 7:00 P.M.

Main Dining Room, Annual Subscription Banquet (\$2.50 per plate; formal dress optional).

WALTER R. AGARD, *University of Wisconsin, Presiding.*

Address of Welcome: DR. HARVIE BRANSCOMB, Chancellor of Vanderbilt University.

Response for the Association: LILLIAN GAY BERRY, University of Indiana.

Violin Concerto in G Minor, Op. 7 (based on Vergil's Aeneid), BRUNO MEINECKE, University of Michigan: Allegro maestoso (Pius Aeneas, "cui se pulchra viro dignetur iungere Dido"); Adagio religioso e doloroso (Infelix Dido moritura); Allegro con moto (Aeneas natus dea et Indiges).

Presidential Address: CLYDE MURLEY, Northwestern University, "Man, the Measure of the Classics."

FRIDAY, APRIL 4

7:30 A.M., *Small Dining Room, State Vice-*

PROGRAM

Presidents will meet for breakfast, Secretary William C. Korfmacher, Presiding.

FRIDAY, 9:00 A.M.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF LATIN INSTRUCTION IN THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL (in Charge of the Committee on Educational Policies), FRED S. DUNHAM, University of Michigan, Presiding.

HAROLD B. DUNKEL, University of Chicago, "Changing Latin in a Changing World."

LENORE GEWEKE, Illinois State Normal University, "Objectives in Terms of the Experiences of the High-School Pupil—An Overview."

HENRY C. MONTGOMERY, Miami University, "A Changed Grammatical Approach."

GERALD F. ELSE, State University of Iowa, "A New Basic Vocabulary and a Different Reading Content."

Critics from the Floor: MARK E. HUTCHINSON, Cornell College; JONAH W. D. SKILES, Northwestern State College (La.); DORRANCE S. WHITE, State University of Iowa.

General Discussion

FRIDAY, 12:15 P.M.

Subscription Luncheon (\$1.50), MARS M. WESTINGTON, Hanover College, Presiding. Latin songs will be sung, led by Professor Westington, MRS. WESTINGTON accompanying.

FRIDAY, 2:00 P.M.

President CLYDE MURLEY, Presiding.

HUBERT McNEILL POTEAT, Wake Forest College, "White for Harvest."

R. G. HOERBER, Bethany College, "Character Study in the Interpretation of Plato's *Meno* and *Protagoras*."

ALBERT RAFF, University of Nebraska, "The Transition from Primitive Ridicule to Humor."

WILLIAM A. HENNES, S.J., Milford Novitiate, "Tibullus and the Plain Style," (with particular reference to *Elegy* 1.10).

BEN E. PERRY, University of Illinois, "Three Styles of Thinking."

FRIDAY, 4:00 P.M.

Conducted trip to the Parthenon. Those interested should sign up at the Registration Desk by Friday noon.

FRIDAY, 7:30 P.M.

E. L. HIGHBARGER, Northwestern University, Presiding.

FREDERIKA BLANKNER, CAAS, Adelphi College, "Gothic, too, is Graeco-Roman."

JAMES E. DUNLAP, University of Michigan, "A Record of Promotion in the Roman Cohorts in Egypt," (Illustrated).

GEORGE E. MYLONAS, Washington University, "Archaeology and the Archaeologist," (Illustrated).

SATURDAY, APRIL 5

9:00 A.M., MARIE B. DENNEEN, First Vice-President, The Woman's College, University of North Carolina, Presiding.

MRS. RUTH F. JOEDICKE, Mary Institute (St. Louis), "The Reporting of Latin Week."

FLORENCE BRUBAKER, Oak Park Township High School (Illinois), "False Gods."

MRS. CATHERINE BRADSHAW BOYD, Kimball, South Dakota, "Greek Lyric Poetesses."

EDWIN W. BOWEN, Randolph Macon College, "Some Aspects of the Life and Art of the Roman Epigrammatist."

SATURDAY 10:30 A.M.

Business Session, Forty-Third Annual Meeting, President CLYDE MURLEY, Presiding.

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HOTELS

Hermitage Hotel (Headquarters), 231 Sixth Avenue North.

Rates: single, \$3, \$4, \$5, and \$6; double, \$6 to \$10; twin beds \$7 to \$10. There is a limited number of minimum priced rooms.

Other hotels within easy walking distance of the Hermitage are:

Andrew Jackson Hotel. Rates: single, \$3, \$3.50, \$4, \$4.50, \$5; double, \$5, \$6, \$7; twin beds, \$6, \$7, \$8.

Noel Hotel. Rates: single, \$3.50; double, \$5 up; twin beds, \$6 up.

Maxwell House. Rates: single, \$2.50, \$3; double (with two persons) \$3 up; double (with four persons) \$7 to \$8; all rooms without private bath.

Memorial Apartment Hotel. Rates: single, \$2.50; double and twin beds, \$4, plus \$2 for each additional person.

James Robertson Hotel. Rates: single, \$3, \$4; double and twin beds, \$4, \$5.

Sam Davis Hotel. Rates: single, \$2.50, \$3; double and twin beds, \$4, 5.

IMPORTANT

Members are urged to make reservations early.

TRANSPORTATION

Nashville may be reached by the Louisville and Nashville; and the Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railroads; and by Eastern and American Airlines.

The Hermitage Hotel may be reached by riding an eastbound Belmont bus or by taxicab.

Reservations for banquet and luncheon should be sent early to Professor O. C. Peery, Peabody Demonstration School, Nashville, Tenn.

Attention is called to the exhibit of pictures of Rome, Ostia, Pompeii, and Herculaneum, lent by Anna Dale Kek of Indiana Central College.

LATIN WEEK PAMPHLETS

LATIN WEEK pamphlets will be available for distribution again this year as in 1946 and 1945.

Under the direction of Miss Lenore Geweke, Chairman of the Committee on Educational Policies of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, a new pamphlet has been prepared, entitled "The Latin Humanities in the American High-School Student's Life." It will be distributed to teachers and schools through the State Committeemen listed in the January issue of THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL.

A number of copies of the Latin Week Bulletin for 1945, and a few for 1946, are still available. The 1945 Bulletin contains numerous suggestions for Latin Week activities. The 1946 Bulletin proved to be very popular, and nearly 18,000 copies were distributed. Both the 1945 and 1946 Bulletins are available at 5c each (to cover handling and mailing) and may be secured from the Secretary-Treasurer of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Professor Wm. C. Korfmacher, St. Louis University, 15 North Grand Blvd., St. Louis 3, Missouri.

MORE CRAZY COUPLETS

1. Cried Charon, "I feel my arthritis
When I come near the banks of _____"
2. "Away from his land we should hasten,"
Suggested Medea to _____
3. Not a soul could reply to the queries
Of pale and disconsolate _____
4. "The women must learn to obey us,"
To his brother cried stern _____
5. "O Sisypheus, just keep on tryin'
And I think you'll succeed," cried _____
6. "At boxing," cried Pollux, "I'm master,
But for news of the horses see _____"
7. "For laundry so white I use Chipso,"
To Ulysses confided _____
8. "If only my head were not hatless,

No colds would I have," bellowed _____

9. "My life is a series of crises,"
Aeneas complained to _____
10. "Old age is a burden, an onus.
To die is my wish," said _____
11. "What kind of a line do you hand 'er?"
Asked the boys of the handsome _____
12. "Of course I bear Paris no malice,
Though her judgment I question," said _____
13. "I owe my 'IQ' to Wheatena
Which I eat twice a day," said _____
14. "If Pluto ever should beat her,
My wrath he would feel," cried _____
15. "I'm lame, and that's why I'm sulkin',"
To Venus confided glum _____
16. "In my nectar I always put chickory.
It sharpens my wits," said _____
17. "Anchises is nearing his 'eighties,'"
Said Aeneas to faithful _____
18. Quoth Daedalus, "Naught may confine us
Within this dread maze of King _____"
19. Quoth Silenus, "'Gainst those who attack
us
For courage let's call on dear _____"
20. "Though the weather be far below zero,
He'll come to my tower," said _____
21. "My duties permit no siesta.
I'm much overworked," stated _____
22. "Though slighted, I'll throw on the
terrace
This fruit for the fairest," leered _____
23. "Agamemnon, beware the northwester.
In port let us stay," counselled _____
24. The titans and gods in each sector
Drank deep of the heavenly _____

KEY

1. Cocytus, 2. Jason, 3. Ceres, 4. Menelaus, 5. Ixion, 6. Castor, 7. Calypso, 8. Atlas, 9. Anchises, 10. Tithonus, 11. Leander, 12. Pallas, 13. Athena, 14. Demeter, 15. Vulcan, 16. Terpsichore, 17. Achates, 18. Minus (Minos), 19. Bacchus, 20. Hero, 21. Vesta, 22. Eris, 23. Nestor, 24. Nectar.

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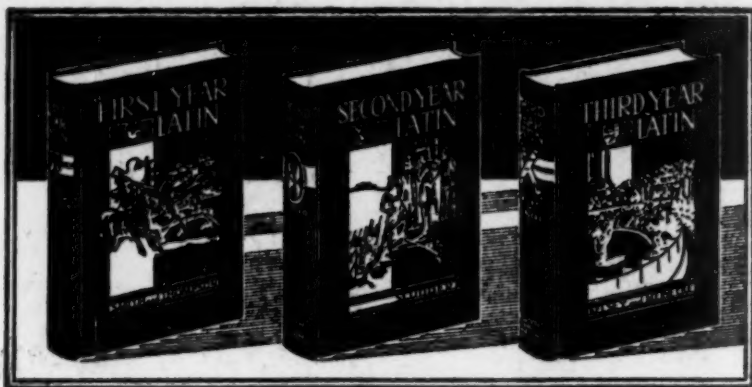
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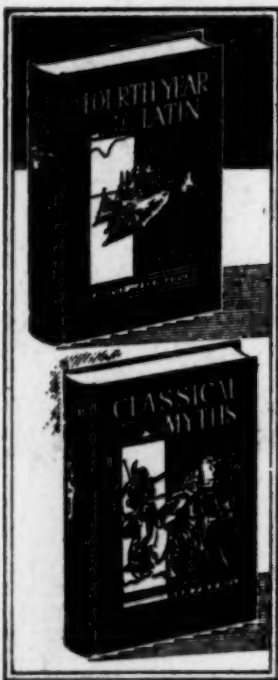
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